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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

FRONT PAGE

ALBANIA

Kosovo's Bukoshi Holds Briefing on Republic Issues *[Tirana Radio]* 2
Government Establishes Relations With Latvia *[Tirana Radio]* 2

BULGARIA

Dimitrov on Removal of Security Agents From Media *[24 CHASA 23 Apr]* 3
Judicial Council Dismisses 6 Judges, Prosecutors *[Sofia Radio]* 3
Ministry Warns of 'Sabotage' of Land Reform *[Sofia Radio]* 3
Agriculture Minister: No Food Shortage Expected *[BTA]* 4
Farmers Protest Appointed Liquidation Commissions *[DUMA 24 Apr]* 4
Podkrepa Miners Federation To Sue Prime Minister *[Sofia Radio]* 4
Army Approves 1992-93 Schedule for Reform *[Sofia Radio]* 5
Dimitrov Attends Economic Forum in Geneva 5
Holds News Conference *[Sofia Radio]* 5
Returns Home, Assesses Results *[BTA]* 5
NATO Military Committee Delegation Visits 6
Security Commission Receives Group *[Sofia Radio]* 6
Ludzhev Talks With General Eide *[BTA]* 6
Yordanov, Mutafov Back From Ankara; Dogan Remains *[BTA]* 6

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Dubcek Concerned About Treaty Interpretation *[CSTK]* 7
Government Reviews Libya Sanctions, Other Issues *[Prague Radio]* 7
Parliament Discusses Labor, Armed Forces Bills *[CSTK]* 7
Publishing FIS List of Journalists Seen Possible *[Prague Radio]* 8
Not During Election Period *[CSTK]* 8
Security Director Claims Journalists Pose Risk *[CSTK]* 8
HZDS Chairman on Proclaiming Constitution *[CSTK]* 9
HZDS Still Ahead in Slovak Opinion Polls *[NARODNA OBRODA 24 Apr]* 9
Parties Agree to Election Cooperation *[CSTK]* 10
Poll Gives Party Popularity Standings *[CSTK]* 10
Police Fear Development of 'Narcomafia' Center *[CSTK]* 10

HUNGARY

Foreign Affairs Committee Views Security Policy *[MTI]* 11
Finance Minister on Expectations for New Loans *[MTI]* 11
Foreign Investors Fund Telecommunication Upgrade *[AFP]* 11
Christian Democrats Hold First Congress *[MTI]* 12

POLAND

Leaders Discontinue Talks on Grand Coalition 13
Parties Refuse To Accept Conditions *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 23 Apr]* 13
Reasons for Failure Discussed *[NOWY SWIAT 23 Apr]* 13
Ruling Coalition Discuss Crisis *[PAP]* 13
Olszewski, Others Meet With Walesa *[Warsaw TV]* 14

Walesa Insists on Government of 'Specialists' *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 27 Apr]* 14
Walesa, Sejm Speaker Discuss Division of Powers *[PAP]* 14
Walesa Orders Freeze on Defense Ministry Changes *[Warsaw Radio]* 15
'Main Role' in State Defense Urged for President *[PAP]* 15
Parys To Resume Defense Ministry Duty 4 May *[PAP]* 15
Article Examines Changes in Defense Ministry Posts *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 21 Apr]* 15
Walesa Comments on Lack of Democracy, Efficiency *[PAP]* 16
Government 'Overthrow' Attempt Reported *[NOWY SWIAT 22 Apr]* 16
Legislative Activity of Olszewski Government Viewed *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 21 Apr]* 17
Referendum Planned To Approve New Constitution *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 24 Apr]* 17
Initiative on Constitutional Law Planned *[PAP]* 18
Minister Says Economy Improved Slightly *[PAP]* 18
Acting Defense Minister Receives NATO's Galvin *[PAP]* 18
Trade Cooperation Agreement Signed With Georgia *[PAP]* 18

ROMANIA

Tirgu Mures Runoff Will Be Held as Scheduled *[ROMPRES]* 20
Parliament Considers Election's Party Symbol *[ROMPRES]* 20
Senators Withdraw From PNL Parliamentary Group *[ROMPRES]* 20
Deputy Ban Reads Withdrawal Statement *[ROMPRES]* 21
FSN Splinter Registered as 'Democratic FSN' *[Bucharest Radio]* 21
Court Denies Being Influenced by State Bodies *[ROMPRES]* 21
Commission Announces Preliminary Census Results *[ROMPRES]* 21
Foreign Ministry's Melescanu Holds News Briefing *[ROMPRES]* 21
Government Statement on New Yugoslav Constitution *[Bucharest Radio]* 22
Russians Demand 'Total Control' Over Archives *[ROMANIA LIBERA 21 Apr]* 22

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

Lisbon Delegations Support UN Troop Arrival *[TANJUG]* 23
Karadzic Expects Agreement *[TANJUG]* 23
Talks Continue *[Lisbon TV]* 23
Serbian Leader Says UN Troops Needed *[TANJUG]* 24
Citizens Asked To Prevent Army Removing Hardware *[Sarajevo Radio]* 24
General Kukanjac Assails Croatian Army *[TANJUG]* 25
Ministry Demands Adherence to Defense Order *[TANJUG]* 26
Efendic Order on Opposing Army Deemed False *[Sarajevo Radio]* 26
Presidency Ready To Negotiate Army Status *[TANJUG]* 26
Official Comments on Adzic's Letter *[Sarajevo Radio]* 27
Adzic Visits Banja Luka *[Belgrade Radio]* 27
Silajdzic Interviewed on Territory, Solutions *[London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT 19 Apr]* 27
Statement Issued on JNA 'Aggression' *[Sarajevo Radio]* 28
Federal Jets Fire on Gorazde *[Sarajevo Radio]* 28
Mostar Declares Federal Army Enemy *[TANJUG]* 29
Heavy Overnight Shelling of Sarajevo *[Zagreb Radio]* 29
Zadar, Biograd Hit by Artillery *[Zagreb Radio]* 29
10 Killed During Bridge Explosion *[Sarajevo Radio]* 29
'Armed Unit' Said Readying Radio, TV Takeover *[Sarajevo Radio]* 30
Transmitters Reportedly Repositioned *[Sarajevo Radio]* 30

CROATIA

Foreign Minister Leaves for Visit to Austria *[Zagreb Radio]* 31
Cease-Fire Reportedly Violated Near Mirkovci *[Belgrade Radio]* 31
UN Forces Seen 'Victim' of Serbian 'Manipulation' *[VJESNIK 22 Apr]* 31
War Against Yugoslav Army To Shift to Serbia *[VJESNIK 9 Apr]* 32
Strains Seen in Governing Coalition *[VJESNIK 14 Apr]* 33
Arkan's Life, Crimes, Prison Release Viewed *[VJESNIK 12 Apr]* 35

SLOVENIA

Minister Threatens To Limit Bosnian Refugees *[TANJUG]* 38
Third Draft Privatization Law 'Acceptable' *[Ljubljana Radio]* 38
International Transportation Agreements Signed *[DELO 8 Apr]* 38
Assembly Debates Rehabilitation of Banks *[DELO 8 Apr]* 39

YUGOSLAVIA

International

Jovic Informs Pinheiro, Vance of New Constitution *[TANJUG]* 41
Russian Envoy Comments on Relations *[TANJUG]* 41

Macedonia

7 Border Crossings Set Up With FRY *[TANJUG]* 41

Serbia

Vojvodina Democrats Refuse To Recognize FRY *[TANJUG]* 41
Albanian Autonomy in Kosovo Considered *[BORBA 23 Apr]* 41
Origin of Arms Confiscated in Kupres Detailed *[POLITIKA 19 Apr]* 42
Role, Tasks of Daily Discussed *[POLITIKA 19 Apr]* 43
Electric Power System Remains Despite Secessions *[BORBA 6 Apr]* 44

Poland

After seven weeks of debating a grand government coalition, leaders of the ten parties have called off talks and termed them a "fiasco," according to ZYCIE WARSZAWY. The daily claims that Prime Minister Olszewski refused to accept demands from the Democratic Union (UD), Liberal Democratic Congress, and Polish Economic Program that changes be made to the ministries of defense, interior, and foreign affairs. UD leader Tadeusz Mazowiecki said: "There was no way we could agree to being drawn into the conflict between the Belvedere and government." Liberal leader Donald Tusk opined that the prime minster did not have the "manly courage" to simply end the talks. Olszewski admitted after the talks had ended that "enthusiasm" for a grand coalition had "waned."

Yugoslavia

International—TANJUG reports that Borisav Jovic, member of the SFRY Presidency and chairman of the State Committee for Cooperation with the United Nations, sent a letter to EC Council of Ministers Chairman Joao de Deus Pinheiro and the UN secretary general's special envoy Cyrus Vance informing them that "the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) was proclaimed" and that the SFRY Presidency—carrying out the tasks of the Yugoslav Presidency until a new Presidency is constituted—"has begun transforming the Yugoslav People's Army into the Army of the FRY" and will focus on the settlement of the Army's status in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Macedonia—TANJUG reports that "Macedonia has set up seven border crossings with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia along the former administrative border with Serbia." Five of the seven crossings will be international and two will be interstate crossings.

Romania

ROMPRES reports a statement made on 29 April by the Mures County prefect that despite the "rumours vehiculated among citizens," the local elections set for 3 May in Tirgu Mures will be held as scheduled. The prefect calls on voters to express their "civic consciousness, political maturity and genuine patriotism." The Romanian National Unity Party (PUNR) has decided to boycott the election because they claim it is "illegal," ROMPRES reports, because the government has allowed the entry of new candidates rather than upholding the county court's ruling to hold a second ballot with the candidates remaining in the race. The PUNR has asked "sympathizers not to vote." During the 9 February elections, "mistakes" were made in electoral procedures and the elected mayor, an independent candidate supported by the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania, resigned.

Kosovo's Bukoshi Holds Briefing on Republic Issues

AU3004072592 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Bujar Shtepani report]

[Text] Kosovo Prime Minister Dr. Bujar Bukoshi gave a news conference at the Albanian Television at noon today. Correspondents from the press, ALBANIAN TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY, and radio and television participated.

After expressing gratitude for the invitation, Prime Minister Bukoshi gave a short report on the situation in Kosovo. He described the current situation as dangerous and explosive. He stressed that the Yugoslav crisis began precisely in Kosovo. Serbia began to adopt an invasive policy toward Kosovo. People are murdered, wounded, and mistreated every day in Kosovo. Our only alternative was to solve the problem of Kosovo Albanians through dialogue, but this was sabotaged. Dr. Bukoshi then said that Serbia is repressing and exerting pressure against and repressing the Albanian population by resorting to colonialist medieval methods. We opposed Serbia by organizing a referendum. The assembly that proclaimed Kosovo a republic later created the system of government. Kosovo is proclaimed an independent and sovereign state. Our strategy and tactics are to stand up to the measures taken by Serbia toward the Kosovo Albanians and to avoid the bloody conflict with Serbia. However, everything has a limit and endurance. The present situation of Albanians in the former Yugoslavia is highly aggravating. Dr. Bukoshi said that Yugoslavia does not exist anymore. We want the legitimate rights of Albanians living in Kosovo and in territories in the former Yugoslavia to be recognized in the same way as other nations that are now independent from the former Yugoslav Federation. The Albanians themselves should decide on their own destiny by insisting on fulfillment of their rights. After the defeat suffered in the areas of former Yugoslavia, Serbia seeks to bring the conflict to Kosovo. Our duty is to avoid conflict, bloodshed, and the great danger that threatens the Albanian people.

Dr. Bujar Bukoshi then answered questions from the correspondents.

Answering a question, he declared that during his visit to Albania he met and talked with President Sali Berisha and Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi. They talked about working together on specific things and the great work to be done in the future. I am pleased with the talks and I am optimistic about the future of Albania and Kosovo, he said.

Answering another question, Mr. Bukoshi said that one cannot call a people a minority if half of it lives in its own territory, and over 90 percent of the Kosovo population are Albanians with the proportion of forces always changing in its favor.

Regarding the recent proclamation of the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in Belgrade, Dr. Bukoshi declared that Kosovo is violently included in it, occupied as it is and against the Albanian people's will for independent Kosovo that was revealed in the referendum last year. Thus, this act cannot suit Kosovo, which was the eighth federal unit with known constitutional rights in the former Yugoslavia.

Answering another question, Bukoshi said that Albanian emigration has played a positive role for the Albanian question in Albania and in Kosovo by working to internationalize the Albanian question and organizing aid distribution.

Concerning the problem of national unity, he said that Kosovo supports the national unity but presently cannot speak of changing borders. The union of our nation will be realized on the basis of the Helsinki Final Act, Paris Charter, and the CSCE's principles. He said that the present union of Kosovo with Albania is not possible. For this, dialogue and a political solution are needed.

Regarding the announcement on Serbian trucks and soldiers located at Fushe Kosovo, Bukoshi said that this is one of the provocations committed every day by the Serbian Army and nationalist gangs in Kosovo. The situation in Kosovo is worsening every hour and every day. We feel that Serbia cannot spare Albania because it may create a reason to militarily intervene in Albania.

Bukoshi answered other questions related to the activity of the Kosovo Government in exile, cooperation between both the governments of Albania and Kosovo, and internationalization of the Albanian question.

Government Establishes Relations With Latvia

AU2904202492 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] The Government of the Republic of Albania and the Government of the Republic of Latvia agreed today to establish diplomatic relations at the ambassador level beginning on 29 April.

Dimitrov on Removal of Security Agents From Media

AU2704190892 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 23 Apr 92 pp 1, 3

[Staff report: "Media Chiefs Consider Removal of Department Six Employees from Media"]

[Text] At his meeting with Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov on 22 April, Asen Agov, general director of Bulgarian Television, reportedly stated that it would be possible to purge all former agents of Department Six [directorate of state security service responsible for surveillance of Bulgarians] without causing tension. Various ways of achieving this were reportedly considered. According to Mr. Agov, it was especially necessary to remove the Department Six agents from television, radio, and the BTA. Ivo Indzhev, head of the BTA, is supposed to share Mr. Agov's view.

An informed source claims that one of the possibilities, which was also discussed with Interior Minister Sokolov, was that all the former Department Six men in television should receive sealed envelopes. If the agents failed to resign, their names and files would be publicized. A member of parliament from the Union of Democratic Forces believes that about 300 television people acted as informers. According to the source, the BTA has already received a list of the former Department Six agents in its organization.

Judicial Council Dismisses 6 Judges, Prosecutors

AU2904202792 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] After considering 12 proposals for the dismissal of judges and prosecutors from their posts for lack of professional qualities, under the procedure set out in Paragraph 5 of the Constitution, today the Supreme Judicial Council decided to dismiss six of the persons concerned. Four of them are judges and two are prosecutors.

The names of the judges are: Stoyan Tsonev Georgiev, until now chairman of Veliko Turnovo District Court; Krasimir Osenksi, deputy chairman of Lovech District Court; Rozaliya (Plushtakova), a judge in the Plovdiv District Court; and Atanas Minkov Georgiev, a judge in the Plovdiv District Court.

The grounds given for the dismissal of Stoyan Georgiev of Veliko Turnovo are that he was highly politically committed, bearing in mind that in 1990 he took part in the so-called political detachments for defense of the achievements of the socialist revolution and restructuring. These detachments had the task of dealing with various unofficial organizations.

Atanas Georgiev of Plovdiv was dismissed because of his extremely active participation in the revival process [1984-85 campaign for forcible name-changing of Bulgarian Muslims] in the Plovdiv region.

The names of the two prosecutors dismissed by the Supreme Judicial Court today are Tatyana Doncheva, from the Sofia City Prosecutor's Office, and Enyo Bakalov, a prosecutor at the Chief Prosecutor's Office.

As a prosecutor at the Sofia City Prosecutor's Office, Tatyana Doncheva stopped correspondence in progress regarding an apartment purchased by Prof. Krustyu Petkov [chairman of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria]. The investigation was stopped after the Grand National Assembly approved a moratorium under which all deals that are in contravention of the moratorium are against the law and declared null and void.

Ministry Warns of 'Sabotage' of Land Reform

AU3004074592 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 29 Apr 92

["Viewpoint of the Ministry of Internal Affairs on Cases of Sabotage of the Land Reform," read over telephone by Major Nikolay Nikolov of Interior Ministry Press Center in Sofia on evening of 29 April—recorded]

[Text] The Ministry of Internal Affairs is receiving tip-offs from all over the country concerning organized sabotage of the land reform. This is being carried out under centrally issued instructions, which is confirmed by a pamphlet entitled: Certain Practical Actions in Connection With the Agricultural Land Ownership and Use Act and the Code of Regulations for Its Application.

The pamphlet defines the coming into force of the Land Act and its application as a gross infringement of the liberty proclaimed by the Constitution [words indistinct] the free will of owners of land, agricultural holdings, farm buildings, and animals. The effects of the law may also be defined as arbitrary maladministration [samoupravstvo] on an unprecedented scale and contraction of agricultural production.

The pamphlet on these practical actions contains specific instructions for opposing the liquidation councils in the entire process of their appointment, assuming their duties, and their operation. Specific recommendations are also made with a view to creating new cooperatives made up from persons who are clearly not owners of land and from the old nomenklatura of the labor cooperative farms.

All this contravenes the procedure under the Agricultural Land Ownership and Use Act. Instructions are given on applying pressure on the liquidation councils by the members of suspended organizations and associations apart from the cooperatives, and also by initiative committees organized specially for the purpose. The pressure is applied by criminal means—through threats against the lives of members of the liquidation commissions and their close relatives. Beatings up and illegal possession of firearms (?are the usual consequences) of such instructions. The instructions in themselves provide indications of their authors. Such blocking of the reforms being

carried out by the government is antidemocratic to the highest degree and under the Penal Code constitutes a crime of extreme danger for society.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs is taking measures to detect the authors and publishers of the anonymous instructions. In addition, all lawful measures will be taken to ensure the normal operation of the liquidation commissions and to guarantee order and security in the country, with a view to ensuring the normal application of the Land Act and its code of regulations.

The blocking of the land reform is a throwback to the collectivization of the fifties. The Ministry of Internal Affairs warns that the persons who have so forgotten themselves and have fallen into a nostalgia for past years will suffer the full weight and punishments of the law.

Agriculture Minister: No Food Shortage Expected

AU2904125292 Sofia BTA in English 1207 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] Sofia, April 29 (BTA)—There is no danger whatsoever that the market will be short of food staples, necessary to feed Bulgarian population, the minister of agriculture, Mr. Stanislav Dimitrov announced in a television programme last night. The state of winter crops gives him grounds for his confidence: 53 percent of the fields under crop are in very good and good condition and only 6 percent are in an unsatisfactory condition. Mr. Dimitrov announced that two-thirds of the farmers applied for the restitution of their land by April 15. In the meantime, about 100,000 hectares of land were given out for temporal [as received] use for one year.

He believes private farmers need money above all. Although there are enough seeds and chemicals, farmers need money to buy these. The ministry has suggested to the Council of Ministers that a credit office be established to grant medium- and long-term credits at considerably lower rates of interest. The ministry expects the office to be set up within a couple of months.

As to prices of farm produce, current purchasing prices are incompatible with the farmers' interests, says Mr. Georgi Stoyanov, head of the ministry's Legal Department. It is necessary that farmers' interests are also guaranteed. According to him, guaranteed minimum purchasing prices will create an impetus to the farmers and the amended land act will enable the quick land reform as part of the country's agrarian reform.

Farmers Protest Appointed Liquidation Commissions

AU2704113992 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 24 Apr 92 pp 1, 2

["DUMA PRESS" report: "Incompetent Liquidation Commissions Cause Rural Unrest"]

[Text] In an appeal addressed to the administrator of Sofia Oblast, cooperative farmers in the villages of Lesnovo and Bogdanliya ask for a township land commission to be formed with the powers granted under Article 61, Paragraph 2, of the Regulations for Applying the Land Act.

The protesters are calling a general meeting of cooperative members at 1000 on 25 April to elect a liquidation council composed of qualified specialists and to define the council's duties and the terms for carrying them out.

The cooperative members are unhappy with the liquidation commissions appointed by the oblast administrator because they are made up of incompetent persons imposed from outside. According to the mayor, the commissions have been approved only by the coordinating council of the Union of Democratic Forces in Elin Pelin. In their appeal to the oblast administrator, the cooperative farmers claim that during the appointment of the liquidation commissions the proposals of the villages' political forces were ignored. The farmers are convinced that a liquidation commission appointed in such a way does not possess the qualities necessary to carry out the duties prescribed in Paragraph 67 of the Regulations for Applying the Land Act, regarding organization, management, the production process, and the division of property.

Take your people away so that we can put ours in—this was the proposal that the mayor of the town of Suedinenie reportedly wanted to put to the more than 3,600 striking cooperative farmers who are demanding the replacement of certain members of the liquidation commission. After four hours of talks with the discontented cooperative members, the oblast administrator decided to add three more members to the commission. The strikers claimed that the law has been broken, and resolved that civil disobedience was the only way to prevent incompetent people remaining on the commission. Unless the protest actions are called off, the oblast administrator reportedly threatened to call in the law-and-order organs. They will have to face the men and women who have occupied the entrance of the administrative building. The protest in Suedinenie is continuing, in spite of the police support that oblast administrator Stefan Stefanov has reportedly requested.

In the village of Rasnik, Pernik District, farmers have occupied the yard of the labor cooperative farm in protest against the farm's liquidation. They also claim that the liquidation commission appointed for this purpose is the least qualified for the job. According to a petition addressed to parliament, of the 206 cooperative members 193 support the cooperative farm, seven have reservations, and only six want the farm to be liquidated.

Podkrepa Miners Federation To Sue Prime Minister

AU3004073592 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] Today, the Federative Council of the Podkrepa Miners Trade Union Federation decided to sue Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov in court for nonfulfillment of

the agreement with the miners. A BTA reporter was told this by Dimitur Dimov, the federation's president.

The government has not fulfilled the accords, and the prime minister's signature appears at the foot of the document. Therefore, let us sue him, the trade union leader said.

According to Dimitur Dimov, today the Federative Council attempted to calm down, as he put it, the situation in Sandanski, where the miners have allegedly not received their pay since 1 December 1991 and were ready to block railroad shipments. However, the president of the Podkrepa Miners Trade Union Federation believes that things will not go so far.

Otherwise, Mr. Dimov said, the Podkrepa Miners Trade Union Federation was waiting for results from Russia, where from today our delegation was due to start negotiations on processing Bulgarian uranium and returning the refined product to Bulgaria. We do not know what to expect, the trade union leader said, because the people who went off to Russia are the same as those who claimed that uranium mining in Bulgaria has no future.

Army Approves 1992-93 Schedule for Reform

AU3004073592 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] The Press Center of the Ministry of Defense has announced that at an expanded session held today, which was attended by Defense Minister Dimitur Ludzhev and Army commanders, the Bulgarian Army General Staff adopted a timetable proposed by the General Staff and the Armed Services Command for implementing the reform in the Bulgarian Armed Forces during the 1992-93 period.

Dimitrov Attends Economic Forum in Geneva

Holds News Conference

AU2904082692 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0600 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] Late on 28 April, after the end of the "Bulgaria-92" Economic Forum in Geneva, Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov and the members of the Bulgarian delegation held a news conference.

Mr. Filip Dimitrov pointed out that it still is too early to say what specific commitments will be made about investments in Bulgaria. However, he immediately stressed that he was encouraged by the great interest shown by the companies that took part in the forum.

Responding to the question whether Bulgaria is threatened by an intensified nationalistic mood the prime minister stated: The Bulgarians have demonstrated an enviable ability to avoid the temptation of using violence. In most postcommunist countries nationalism has tended to emerge in time of ethnic and personal conflicts. Similar conflicts caused the bloodshed in former Yugoslavia. However, as far as Bulgaria is concerned, I can definitely state that there is no such danger, Prime Minister Dimitrov said at the end of the "Bulgaria-92" Economic Forum in Geneva.

Returns Home, Assesses Results

AU3004071792 Sofia BTA in English 2012 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Iva Toncheva report]

[Text] Sofia, April 29 (BTA)—On his arrival from Switzerland this evening Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov told the press that he was pleased with Bulgaria's participation in the Bulgaria '92 Mini-Economic Forum in Davos.

According to the Swiss organizers of the forum, the representatives of three other East European countries elaborated mainly on political issues, while Bulgaria was the object of economic interest above all. 109 representatives of 69 world-famous companies and corporations met with the Bulgarian delegation in Davos. "I am glad to say that specific projects were put forward. It will be a considerable achievement if at least some of them can be put into practice in the near future," Mr. Dimitrov said.

Answering a question, Mr. Dimitrov said that the government respects small investors but takes a keen interest in larger companies willing to invest in Bulgaria. Filip Dimitrov is pleased with the fact that in Davos big influential world companies showed an interest in the opportunities for doing business in Bulgaria. "This probably means that the time is over when Bulgaria was attractive only for small and venture business," the prime minister said.

Asked about the possible debt/equity swap in the forthcoming privatization in Bulgaria, the prime minister said that this country will not make separatist deals behind the back of the London Club of Bulgaria's creditors in an attempt to find partial solutions to problems which are within the scope of the agreement with the London Club. However, Mr. Dimitrov did not rule out the possibility for a debt/equity swap in accordance with the agreements with the creditor banks. "But the London Club will be given precedence and nothing will be done behind its back. Thus we express our loyalty," the prime minister said.

He confirmed his intention to make structural and personnel cabinet changes. "My stand is absolutely definitive," Mr. Dimitrov stressed. He implied that he has not changed his mind about the resignation of Defence Minister Dimitur Ludzhev which was demanded ten days ago. The prime minister did not commit himself to a statement on whether he is certain that the parliamentary groups of the Union of Democratic Forces headed by him and of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms will support the proposed cabinet changes. "Obviously, when a prime minister insists on personnel changes and parliament votes against them, he

has to resign. I do not know whether this will happen," Filip Dimitrov said with a smile.

The cabinet changes will probably be announced in the middle of next week. Parliament is expected to vote on them around May 10.

NATO Military Committee Delegation Visits

Security Commission Receives Group

AU2904202292 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] The Press Center of the National Assembly has reported on a meeting today between members of the Parliamentary National Security Commission and the visiting delegation from the NATO Military Committee led by its chairman, General Vigleik Eide.

During the talks satisfaction was expressed that practically the whole of Bulgarian society has a positive attitude toward improving our relations with NATO and that we are traveling along the difficult road from the image of the enemy to the realization that NATO is now the only collective structure for guaranteeing European security.

We in NATO have no doubt that Bulgaria is the most stable country in the Balkans, General Eide stated. In the complex situation of the Balkan Peninsula, Bulgaria demonstrates an approach that deserves respect. Great interest is also aroused by the fact that Bulgaria wants to create a legal foundation for its national security.

In response to the interest shown by the members of the National Assembly in NATO's future, the chairman of the NATO Military Committee expressed the view that he sees the future of the North Atlantic Alliance in serving as a platform for security and cooperation with other countries that are not NATO members. Emphasis will increasingly be placed upon political will and political decisions. Security and stability will increasingly be developed on a political, economic and cultural basis, not a military one, General Eide stressed.

General Eide was also received by Defense Minister Dimitur Ludzhev, who briefed him about the course and pace of the reform in the Bulgarian Army.

Ludzhev Talks With General Eide

AU2904202392 Sofia BTA in English 1848 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Excerpts] Sofia, April 29 (BTA)—The visiting delegation of the NATO Military Committee, led by its chairman, General Vigleik Eide, met members of the Parliamentary National Security Committee today. The talks, which lasted for about an hour and a half, were also attended by the Bulgarian ambassador to Belgium, Mrs. Lea Koen.

According to Mr. Nikolay Slatinski, chairman of the National Security Committee, the Bulgarian parliament and government are well aware of the necessity for foreign political guarantees for this country's national security. [passage omitted]

General Eide was received by Defence Minister Dimitur Ludzhev who acquainted him with the progress of the reform in the Bulgarian Army. The two sides stressed the mutual interest for the contacts in the military sphere to continue at a lower level as well.

At the General Staff of the Bulgarian Army Colonel-General Lyuben Petrov acquainted General Vigleik Eide with the guidelines of the Bulgarian military doctrine in compliance with the new realities in Europe and the active foreign policy pursued by this country.

General Vigleik Eide read a lecture at the Military Academy on the basic principles of NATO, on the changes in its military structures and on cooperation in the military sphere with the countries of Eastern and Central Europe.

Yordanov, Mutafov Back From Ankara; Dogan Remains

AU3004071392 Sofia BTA in English 2040 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] Sofia, April 29 (BTA)—Mr. Aleksandur Yordanov, floor leader of the parliamentary group of the ruling Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), and Mr. Encho Mutafov, editor-in-chief of DEMOKRATSIYA, the SDS daily, who attended the celebrations of the 72nd anniversary of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, came back from Ankara today. The third member of the parliamentary delegation, Mr. Ahmed Dogan, leader of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS), is continuing his visit to Turkey.

In an interview for the national radio Mr. Yordanov elaborated on his reservations about Turkey's idea of a Black Sea economic zone. Turkey's latest proposal is to include in it all former Soviet republics regardless of whether they have a Black Sea border. Bulgaria should get integrated into European structures and develop friendly relations with all countries. But this country must not get integrated into an economically backward community like that of the former Soviet republics, Mr. Yordanov said.

The Bulgarian parliamentary delegation met with Turkish politicians and MP's [member of parliament] and with the Bulgarian community in Istanbul.

"The disputes over cabinet portfolios seem to me trifles compared to the problems facing Bulgaria, the Balkans and the region," Mr. Yordanov said, commenting on the forthcoming structural and personnel cabinet changes. In his view, if the DPS, which is part of the parliamentary majority supporting the cabinet, asks for ministerial posts, the question should be discussed. At the same time Mr. Yordanov is convinced that the DPS will make no such claims.

Dubcek Concerned About Treaty Interpretation

LD2804025692 Prague CSTK in English 0807 GMT 27 Apr 92

[Text] Bratislava April 27 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak parliament Chairman Alexander Dubcek says the Czechoslovak-German friendship treaty has weak points, but, hopes "the German parliament will not pass a resolution which might make different interpretations of the treaty possible". The treaty, signed in February, was ratified by the Czechoslovak parliament on April 22 and is expected to be ratified by the German parliament (Bundestag) in May. In an interview for the SLOVAK NEWS AGENCY (TKSR), Dubcek said the treaty is another step in building new relations in Europe. Opposition parties in Czechoslovakia criticised the term "expulsion" used in the treaty to describe the transfer of about 2.5 million Sudeten Germans from Czechoslovakia after World War II, carried out under the 1945 Potsdam accords. Dubcek, the leader of the 1968 communist reform movement, is also chairman of the Slovak Social Democratic Party (SDSS), which he joined in mid-March. He told TKSR that as a member of a generation which experienced the Second World War, "I can understand the arguments of those who objected to some terms used in the Czechoslovak-German treaty", he said.

[Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Slovak at 0600 GMT on 27 April adds in a report on Dubcek's interview: "Regarding the ongoing meeting of our supreme legislative body, he said that the parliament has shown the ability to adopt constitutional laws the approval of which requires a three-fifths majority. Alexander Dubcek says that claims about the Federal Assembly blocking the adoption of the constitutional law proved to be unjustified."]

Government Reviews Libya Sanctions, Other Issues

LD3004094192 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 23 Apr 92

[Report on federal government session by correspondents Zdena Balcerova and Miroslav Dittrich]

[Excerpt] [Dittrich] The government assessed how Czechoslovakia is meeting the obligations outlined by the UN Security Council resolution on sanctions against Libya.

According to Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Josef Pancir, we have not supplied any military equipment to Libya in the past few years. No licence to supply military equipment is currently valid. As far as services are concerned, the only project in question is the (?Apro) project in the Libyan desert where Czechoslovak equipment was to be supplied to repair L-39 trainer planes. Nevertheless, because these planes are used to train Air Force pilots, this project, which was to end in May anyway, has been halted. Out of 47 Czechoslovaks working in this region, 25 have already received exit visas and the issue of visas for the remainder is under discussion.

[Balcerova] The Federal Government also discussed a system of regulating wages that is to come into force as of 1 June this year. The new element is the fact that a differentiated course will be taken when adjusting wages in accordance with the economic results of individual enterprises. This means that enterprises that achieve greater profits will also be able to pay their employees more. The wage regulation will apply only to state-owned enterprises and to those in which the state has a majority holding. In order to prevent excessive salary increases during the period up to 1 June, during which the regulation will not be in force, trade union representatives pledged at the meeting of the tripartite council yesterday that they will call on the management of enterprises to exercise restraint. Otherwise, the Federal Government will have to take measures in the second half of the year to prevent inflationary wage increases.

The government also approved its decree on salaries for civil service staff and for the staff of some organizations under the jurisdiction of the Federation, including the Armed Forces, the customs services, and so on. It links up to the Federal Assembly bill that, as is known, envisages 12 salary classes; extra pay for the Army, police, and customs service; extra pay for the differentiation of abilities of individual members of staff; danger pay; and bonus pay. Each class will have its own scale, and it is up to individual organizations whether they take into account the length of professional practice or whether they use other criteria.

At today's Federal Government session, a deputies' bill on Czechoslovak railway transport was also assessed. The government does not recommend adopting it mainly because of its lack of clarity. On the other hand, the government agrees with earmarking some Czechoslovak railway transport for large privatization. [passage omitted]

Parliament Discusses Labor, Armed Forces Bills

AU2704125092 Prague CSTK in English 2152 GMT 23 Apr 92

[Text] Prague April 23 (CSTK)—The Czechoslovak parliament today approved a bill on the Federal Railway Police, designed to strengthen safety on railway transport. The Federal Railway Police will be subordinated to the Czechoslovak transport minister, who will appoint and recall its director.

The federal parliament also today passed an amended Labor Code and an amended Law on Employment. Under the amended Labor Code an employee can be moved to another job only by mutual consent. The Labor Code has thus been brought into harmony with Czechoslovakia's Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms, banning forced labor. Under the Labor Code an employee can engage in activities identical with those he carries out as his main job only upon a written consent by his employer who may withdraw this consent.

The amended Law on Employment eases access to jobs for foreigners possessing permits for permanent residence in Czechoslovakia.

[Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 24 April on pages 1 and 2 carries an 800-word "ha"-signed report

on the 23 April Federal Assembly session. According to the report, in addition to passing the bills on the commodity exchanges and the railway police, and the amendments to the Labor Code and the Law on Employment, the federal parliament also passed an amendment to the law on the contract of employment of soldiers. The report specifies that "the amendment adjusts the system of payments that are extended to career soldiers to the ongoing changes resulting from the Czechoslovak Army's professionalization and redeployment and to the system of payments used in other armed forces. The amendment states, furthermore, that conscripts are entitled to 21 days of regular leave for every 9 months of military service and career soldiers to 37 days of regular leave per calender year. The amendment does not permit career soldiers to pursue any systematic gainful occupation based on a contract of employment or any other entrepreneurial activity." According to the HOSPODARSKE NOVINY report, the federal parliament also failed to pass a government-sponsored bill on the abolition of the system of preferred work categories, owing to the bill's rejection by the Slovak part of the Chamber of Nations.]

Publishing FIS List of Journalists Seen Possible

LD3004103592 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 23 Apr 92

[Text] Dagmar Bursova, speaker of the Czech parliament, received from the Federal Security Information Service [FIS] a list of 262 positively screened members of the Czech Syndicate of Journalists. She announced after the session of the Czech parliament Presidium that for the time being she put the list in a safe but she informed the leadership of the parliament about it.

The Czech parliament also discussed today the unexpected demand of the Czech Government that the Czech parliament adopt a law on publishing the names of all agents and commanding officers of the secret police. Prior to a possible discussion of the law by the plenum, the conclusions of the Constitutional-Legal Committee of the Czech parliament are particularly important. Alexander Picha, journalist, asked Miroslav Vyborny, the chairman of this committee, about his views.

[Begin recording] [Picha] Is there a possibility that the current Czech parliament will make it legally possible to publish a blanket list of the secret police agents even before the end of this election period?

[Vyborny] There is, but it must be said that in spite of yesterday's resolution of the Czech Government, the government so far has not introduced a bill in the Czech parliament that would make it possible to publish a blanket list of secret police agents.

[Picha] Do you think it would be complicated to prepare such a law? It requires only a short paragraph about whether the blanket publication of secret police agents can be made possible and a definition of the categories.

[Vyborny] It would be uncomplicated in the legislative sense, but not in a political sense.

[Picha] Don't you think in this connection that the Czech Government passed this unpleasant problem from its shoulders to the Czech parliament?

[Vyborny] If I understood it rightly, and I spoke also with the Czech deputy premier, the Czech Government intends to propose a bill enabling the publication of a complete list of agents, but so far such a proposal has not been put forward.

[Picha] Martin Fendrych, spokesman of the Federal Ministry of Interior, said that the Czech parliament allegedly would have to ask the Federal Government for permission to publish the names of secret police agents. Can the Federal Government put some legislative limits in this respect on the decision of the Czech parliament?

[Vyborny] No, it cannot limit the Czech parliament in a legislative sense, but it is the constitutional laws that limit the jurisdiction of the Czech parliament. [end recording]

Not During Election Period

AU2804113492 Prague CSTK in English 1752 GMT 26 Apr 92

[Text] Prague April 26 (CSTK)—Czech Premier Petr Pithart today said the list of journalists registered as former secret police (StB) agents, which was handed to him last week, came late and cannot be used due to the pre-election period. Speaking in a regular Sunday television debate, Pithart said the list, worked out by the Federal Security and Information Service (FBIS), contains only names of members of the journalists' syndicate who account for less than half of all journalists in the Czech Republic.

Federal Assembly (parliament) Deputy Julius Bobovnicky of the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH), member of a special parliamentary control body for the FBIS, said that the screening of journalists for collaboration with the StB will continue.

Federal Assembly Deputy Michal Prokop of the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA) pointed out that journalists can influence public opinion and thus also the results of elections (due in Czechoslovakia June 5-6).

A similar list of Slovak journalists registered as StB agents was received last week by Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky.

Security Director Claims Journalists Pose Risk

LD2904201992 Prague CSTK in English 1530 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] Prague April 29 (CSTK)—The director of Czechoslovakia's Federal Security and Information Service, Stefan Bacinsky, today denied any political motivations behind his agency's report on journalists who are allegedly disinforming the public through their articles. On April 17, Bacinsky gave Czech Premier Petr Pithart a list of 262 members of the Czech Journalists' Syndicate believed to be former agents of the STB secret police.

Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky confirmed April 25 that he had received an analogous list of "over one hundred" former STB agents in the Slovak Journalists' Syndicate.

In an interview with CSTK today after he presented the Federal Assembly (parliament) with a report on the case, Bacinsky said the reason it dealt only with the mass media was that the Federal Security and Information Service saw signs that some journalists were writing distorted information putting state security at risk.

"The fourth estate has enormous influence on the public, look at Slovakia", Bacinsky said. He added that the media's power in the Czech republic "is certainly substantially less".

The agency's continuing investigation of journalists besides those in the syndicate will take two or three months, according to Bacinsky.

Not all of the press will be investigated, he explained, as the Federal Security and Information Service will focus on those publications in which there are signs that events are being presented otherwise than they were in reality.

The agency started work on the case at the beginning of December 1991, when Bacinsky was appointed Federal Security and Information Service director. From there they worked backwards, examining newspapers and magazines all the way back to the overthrow of the communists in late 1989, Bacinsky said.

According to him, the Federal Security and Information Service has not received a single request for intelligence from government officials since his appointment.

Stressing the agency's apolitical nature, Bacinsky said the problem is that "constitutional bodies who receive the information have to take political decisions. My responsibility by law is merely to give them information".

Asked by CSTK why he declined to answer any of the questions on the report put to him today by federal deputies, Backinsky responded that there was no reason for him to do so.

HZDS Chairman on Proclaiming Constitution

LD2904133892 Prague CSTK in English 1235 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] Bratislava April 29 (CSTK)—The chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), Vladimir Meciar, today said if the Slovak nationalist parties win 91 seats in the Slovak Parliament in June, a Slovak constitution will be proclaimed by the end of August 1992.

"It will be a complete constitution, including a provision on the president of the Slovak republic", Meciar told a press conference here. He said the HZDS has prepared a list of a complete shadow cabinet. According to recent opinion polls the HZDS has over 30 per cent voter support in Slovakia.

Meciar said he is sure the HZDS will win a majority of 97 votes in the Slovak parliaments, which will always back a declaration of Slovakia's sovereignty. He doubted, however, whether a declaration of sovereignty would be advantageous before the June elections as it would not be followed by a proclamation of a Slovak constitution.

In view of their party's programme, the HZDS deputies to the Slovak parliament cannot vote otherwise than for sovereignty, HZDS deputy Jozef Moravcik said. A political declaration has no direct legal consequences, he said and added that its implementation would have to be secured in a constitutional manner.

HZDS Still Ahead in Slovak Opinion Polls

AU2804083492 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 24 Apr 92 p 14

[CSTK report: "The Elections on Trial"]

[Text] Bratislava—The situation remained virtually unchanged last month according to a public opinion poll conducted by the Slovak Statistical office from 1 to 9 April 1992. Fifteen percent of potential voters have decided not to participate in the elections and a further 15 percent are hesitant about their participation. The future voters divided the remaining percentages among the political parties, movements, and coalitions as follows:

Name	SNR	Federal Assembly Chamber of People	Federal Assembly Chamber of Nations
Movement for a Democratic Slovakia	39.5	37.3	36.7
Party of the Democratic Left	12.5	13.0	12.4
Slovak National Party	10.5	9.4	12.7
Christian Democratic Movement [KDH]	9.7	9.9	9.8
Social Democratic Party of Slovakia	6.3	8.5	6.7
Slovak Green Party	4.2	3.0	3.0
Slovak KDH	3.8	4.1	2.7
Civic Democratic Union	3.0	3.3	3.3
Hungarian KDH-Egyutteles	2.9	2.7	2.7
other parties, movements, coalitions	4.4	5.2	6.1
will participate in elections, but have not yet decided whom to vote for	3.2	3.6	3.9

The reasons cited most often by respondents (49 percent) for not participating in the elections (as with hesitation about participation) are disappointment with current political events and loss of faith in political representatives.

Parties Agree to Election Cooperation

LD2904150192 Prague CSTK in English 1309 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] Prague April 29 (CSTK)—The Civic Democratic Party (ODS) and the Christian Democratic Union—Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL) today agreed to work closely together to avoid discrepancies in their election campaigns as well as after the elections. The decision on cooperation between the two parties was made by ODS Chairman Vaclav Klaus and KDU-CSL Chairman Josef Lux. "We spoke about how to carry out a mutually decent election campaign and how to create joint defence mechanisms against various irrationalities which we expect", Klaus said after talks between the the ODS and the KDU-CSL. Klaus said the leaderships of both parties have clearly defined their "common enemy, which is to the left of us...this is not only the Communist Party, but also social democracy, the LSU (the Liberal Social Union) and nationalist Moravian parties". He said right-wing parties need to create a "circle defence".

"We mutually decided we would conduct the election campaign in a simply positive and correct spirit", said ODS Deputy Chairman Jiri Kovar. He did not exclude the possibility that the two parties would form a coalition after the elections. "However, that will depend on the election results", he said.

"We agreed that it would be good to formulate our post-election cooperation in the framework of a coalition agreement", said Lux. "After the elections we are prepared to strive for cooperation with parties from the centre to the right", he added.

Poll Gives Party Popularity Standings

LD2604175492 Prague CSTK in English 1543 GMT 24 Apr 92

[Text] Prague April 24 (CSTK)—The rightist Civic Democratic Party (ODS) retains its leading position in the latest public opinion poll in the Czech republic and the opposition Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) in the Slovak republic.

According to a survey conducted by the Prague-based Institute for Public Opinion Research from March 31 to April 7 among 1,519 Czechoslovak respondents, the ODS together with the coalition Christian Democratic Party (KDS) are keeping 21 per cent of voter support in the Czech republic, followed by the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (CSSD) with nine per cent and the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia with eight per cent of votes. The Liberal Social Union (LSU—Associating the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, the Agrarian Party and the Greens' Party) is supported by five per cent of respondents.

In the Slovak republic, the HZDS which is in the lead with 31 per cent of votes, is followed by Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky's Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) with 13 per cent and the Democratic Left Party (SDL-former Communists) with 12 per cent of votes.

12 per cent of Czechs and 11 per cent of Slovaks said they would not go to the polls (there are about 8.5 million voters in the whole of Czechoslovakia).

Results of Recent Surveys in the Czech Republic

	(percentage):		
	Dec 1991	Feb 1992	March 1992
1. ODS	21	22	19
2. CSSD	10	10	7
3. KSCM	9	9	8
4. LSU	8	7	7
10. KDS	3	2	1

Results of recent surveys in the Slovak republic:

1. HZDS	30	31	30
2. KDH	13	14	13
3. SDL	16	9	13
4. SNS (Slovak National Party)	12	12	13

Police Fear Development of 'Narcomafia' Center

AU2904111892 Prague CSTK in English 1148 GMT 25 Apr 92

[Text] Prague April 25 (CSTK)—"A centre of narcomafia will exist in Czechoslovakia within two years unless conditions for anti-drug struggle are created", Czechoslovak Federal Police Deputy Director Jiri Vacek says in "RUDE PRAVO" today. He points out that at present there are over 140 joint-stock companies with capital from the countries of the former Soviet Union part of which can be assumed to come from drug trafficking. Vacek says he considers "the legalisation of drugs (widely discussed in Czechoslovakia at present) a surrender to organised crime. Pointing out insufficient protection of Czechoslovakia against criminals from abroad, Vacek says the country "cannot be opened to all sides without police being given legal possibility of sending undesirable persons where they came from".

Foreign Affairs Committee Views Security Policy

LD2904222692 Budapest MTI in English 1839 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] Budapest, April 29 (MTI)—Hungary hopes to become a full member of integrated Western systems, and is shaping its security policy concept accordingly, Ivan Baba, acting deputy secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, told MTI on Wednesday after the session of parliament's foreign affairs committee, devoted to Hungary's new security policy doctrine.

Hungary does not stand for neutrality or a regional security system, but hopes to obtain political and military guarantees through membership of integrated Western organizations.

The security policy cooperation of the Visegrad Trio sets no alternative to this, being rather a promoter of Western integration.

As the existence of unstable societies southeast and south of Hungary has to be reckoned with for some time ahead, both foreign and military policies need to be prepared for the ensuing problems, Baba said.

As far as the former Soviet region is concerned, Ukraine's role is considered promising. It seems that Ukraine will be a reliable partner, not a source of danger.

The idea for military security is arming Hungary with a defence capacity that can hold up an enemy of similar strength, and cause considerably stronger enemies such losses which make an attack not worth to launch. This doctrine also preconditions a large-scale overhaul of Army.

During the closed part of the session, the foreign affairs committee heard three ambassador designates. Baba declined to tell which countries are actually concerned, but only said that the appointment of ambassadors to Moscow, Slovenia, Moldova, Byelarus and a few Asian countries are currently up for discussion.

Finance Minister on Expectations for New Loans

LD2904122492 Budapest MTI in English 0908 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] Washington, April 29 (MTI)—The International Monetary Fund is satisfied with the performance of the Hungarian economy, and believe that not even the increasing deficit of the central budget gives cause for anxiety, Hungarian Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa said after his talks in Washington. He added that the World Bank was also expected to grant Hungary further support.

There is no reason for devaluing the forint, and the hard-currency quota available to Hungarian tourists may be increased later this year, the minister said.

The Hungarian finance minister and Peter Akos Bod, president of the National Bank of Hungary, on Tuesday met Michel Camdessus, IMF managing director, and other senior IMF officials. In an excellent atmosphere, the IMF officials spoke in appreciative terms about the performance of the Hungarian economy, which they termed as exemplary for the region, Kupa told Hungarian journalists.

The IMF officials said they understood that, due to unemployment and the new banking and accounting laws, revenues are uncertain and expenditures higher than planned. "However, they emphatically stressed, and I agreed with them, that the reform of the large systems of distribution, such as public education and health and social security, can no longer be postponed," Kupa said. He added that the IMF officials had promised to introduce a time-tested western model for planning tax revenues.

On Wednesday, the minister is scheduled to meet President Lewis Preston and other senior officials of the World Bank. They will hold talks on new loans to be earmarked for education, for social security, housing and for the development of the financial system. The sums involved for each field range from 100 to 200 million dollars.

The Hungarian politicians attending the regular meeting of the IMF and the World Bank drew the conclusion that Russia would not be supported at the expense of East Central Europe. Kupa gave voice to his reservation whether the rapid, sweeping reforms promised by Russian Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar could be implemented. In any case, Hungary, together with Czechoslovakia and Poland, has a good chance of taking part in the World Bank programmes supporting Moscow, the minister said.

Foreign Investors Fund Telecommunication Upgrade

AU2604202692 Paris AFP in English 1733 GMT 26 Apr 92

[Text] Budapest, April 26 (AFP)—Hungarian authorities are holding out the prospect of lucrative contracts to foreign investors as they aim for a crash modernisation programme for the country's delapidated telecommunications system.

As the authorities realise that information technology is vital to their economic development plans, and with a world exposition specialising in telecommunications and transport scheduled for Budapest in 1996, the state-owned Hungarian telecommunications company MATAV is looking for partners to improve its liaisons with the outside world.

With the decaying network inherited from the communist regime, only one phone call in three is currently successful, according to data released here recently.

The World Bank, under its Telecom-2 plan, has granted MATAV a loan of 150 million dollars, 70 million of which its has already spent on development.

The European Investment Bank disbursed 100 million dollars and the European Bank of Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) is to grant it 185 million German marks (some 113 million dollars), MATAV official Andras Gyori, responsible for tenders, told AFP.

However the company has to raise further substantial sums to enable it reach western European standards, experts here said.

MATAV has invited tenders from foreign investors without waiting for parliament to pass a new draft law on telecommunications to provide a legal framework for the networks and provide market conditions in the Hungarian telecom industry.

Contract-winners already named include Siemens and Ericsson, who in 1990 won the first big Hungarian telephone tender covering a five-year period and involving the modernisation of electrical exchanges and the building of some 300,000 new service and consumer phonelines, at a total cost of three billion forints (37 million dollars), Gyori said.

The Italian firm Pirelli is to supply and build fibre optic networks in cooperation with Italtel, which will contribute fibre optic multiplexers, at a total cost of about 15 million dollars, he said.

France-Telecom lent MATAV 300 card phones and installed them around the tourist centre Lake Balaton, west of Budapest, last year, in exchange for an unspecified share from revenues.

It also provided phone systems for journalists and participants attending the EBRD's first general assembly in Budapest last month.

Under a contract to be signed maybe as early as next week, French Monetel is to supply 12,000 card phones together with spare parts and supervision to a value of 20 million dollars, Gyori said.

MATAV is to invite further tenders to create a so-called V-Sat service system, to replace obsolete rural exchanges, to build optical and microwave transfer systems between Budapest exchanges, to modernise the Budapest-Erzsebet exchange, to install optical fibre cables and to boost the eastern Hungarian city exchanges of Debrecen and Nyiregyhaza with new technology.

Currently, Hungary has only about a million phone-lines linked to 1.9 million phone-sets including 26,000 payphones—10,000 of them in Budapest—for a population of 10.3 million people.

MATAV, currently a state-owned share-holding company, itself faces the imminent prospect of privatisation.

Between 10 and 30 percent of its shares are to be sold to foreign share-olders by 1993 prior to flotation on the Budapest Stock Exchange in 1994 or 1995, company sources said.

Christian Democrats Hold First Congress

AU2804124192 Budapest MTI in English 1837 GMT 24 Apr 92

[Text] Budapest 24 Apr (MTI)—"After an absence of 40 years, the Hungarian people have returned to the community of the European peoples far more quickly and securely than other peoples", said Wilfried Martens, former Belgian prime minister and president of the European People's Party.

Martens was welcoming the 1,176 delegates of the first congress of the Hungarian Christian Democratic People's Party (CDPP), in Godollo near Budapest.

The Belgian Christian democratic leader said Hungary—and Poland—are spearheading the economic reforms in East Europe, and the policy of gradual transition has already yielded results, with Hungary progressing on the correct road towards the new social and economic model.

The first congress of the CDPP, which has some 20,000 members, is to examine the two and a half years since it was re-founded, and will discuss the future of Hungarian Christian democracy, the party's election and subsequent programme.

Party President Laszlo Surjan said the CDPP's sober, disciplined and firm attitude in politics is attracting more and more followers.

"The CDPP is the party of the future, a party that will have a determining role in Hungarian politics", said Sandor Keresztes, the honorary and life president of the party, who characterized the CDPP as a people's party resting on Christian ethical and moral principles. He said: The CDPP has conducted itself correctly as a member of the coalition government, and also towards the Hungarian Democratic Forum, a party that accords to its basic principles. However, it will take greater care in the future to make its independence more obvious.

The CDPP is one party of the Hungarian government coalition (alongside the Hungarian Democratic Forum and the Independent Smallholders' Party). It received 6.4 per cent of the votes in the 1990 parliamentary elections, and won 21 seats in parliament. Since then, two MPs have left the parliamentary group to join the independents, and two MPs of the Alliance of Free Democrats have joined the parliamentary group.

Party President Surjan is minister of health and welfare, and three state secretaries are also CDPP members. Some 10 per cent of the votes cast in the 1990 local elections were for the CDPP, which now has 100 mayors and 825 local government members in the towns and villages. The CDPP is a member of all the international Christian democratic organizations.

Leaders Discontinue Talks on Grand Coalition

Parties Refuse To Accept Conditions

AU2804090492 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 23 Apr 92 p 1

[Igor Janke report: "There Will Be No Grand Coalition"]

[Text] The leaders of the "small coalition" have broken off talks on a government reshuffle. The Democratic Union [UD], Liberal Democratic Congress [KLD], and Polish Economic Program [PPG] refused to accept the condition that no changes be made to the Defense Ministry, Interior Ministry, and Foreign Ministry posts.

After seven weeks, the talks on expanding the government coalition have ended in a fiasco. One of the participants told ZYCIE that the greater part of the 22 April five and a half hour talks had been on the subject of the Defense Ministry, Interior Ministry, and Foreign Ministry posts. Minister Olszewski said he would not relinquish his support for Defense Minister Parys.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki suggested that the prime minister plus representatives of the seven pro-government parties and the "small coalition" parties should go to see the president that same day in order to agree on ways for the government to function, especially the three ministries in question. Neither Olszewski nor any of the leaders of the "seven" complied. The "small coalition" leaders asked for a break in the talks, after which they stated that there was no purpose in continuing the talks.

"There was no way we could agree to being drawn into the conflict between the Belvedere and government," said UD leader Tadeusz Mazowiecki. He said he had expected the prime minister to make it clear that the UD, KLD, and PPG had the same right to hold all ministries, including the Defense, Foreign, and Interior Ministries, as the "seven" parties. "But the prime minister did not say anything to that effect," said Mazowiecki.

Prime Minister Olszewski said that his condition for the "grand coalition" to go ahead, an undertaking by the ten parties not to make any changes to the Interior, Foreign, and Defense Ministry chairs, which are held by non-party experts, had been broken. He blamed the "development of the situation" for the failure of the talks. He said that enthusiasm for a grand coalition had simply waned. Donald Tusk of the KLD said that the "small coalition" would not take part in any struggle to reshuffle the government, while the PSL leaders said they would support the government in matters that "benefit Poland and help reduce the recession."

Reasons for Failure Discussed

AU2904081592 Warsaw NOWY SWIAT in Polish 23 Apr 92 p 2

["anga, Mag" report: "A Great Fiasco"]

[Text] "The situation is mainly to blame for the failure of the talks," said Prime Minister Olszewski after the meeting of the ten parties that had tried to form a grand coalition [22 April]. In the prime minister's opinion, there had been much less enthusiasm for a grand coalition than last time, and one could detect this reduced enthusiasm on both sides. One participant said the talks were dull, interspersed with "long periods of silence and gazing at the drinking glasses on the table."

"We gained the impression that some of the government coalition groups wanted to drag out the talks ad infinitum," said Liberal leader Donald Tusk. In his opinion, the prime minister did not have the manly courage to immediately end the talks and present a concrete outline of the composition and structure of the government and a concept of a grand coalition.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki thought the "seven parties" failed to present a clear stance on restructuring all the ministries. The Democratic Union chairman explained that the point is not to replace all ministers, but to give the "small coalition" the chance to take over one of the political ministries. "We could not allow ourselves to be dragged into the conflict between the Belvedere and government concerning Jan Parys," said Mazowiecki, who added that in such a situation, the defense minister should also be replaced.

Waldemar Pawlak, chairman of the Polish Peasant Party, blamed the failure of the talks on the political partners' reluctance to discuss the program and objectives that the coalition should implement. "Without that, it is difficult to talk of any lasting accords, because the first row would erupt as soon as the ministerial portfolios are distributed," said Pawlak. It is not clear from his remarks what kind of stance the Peasant Party will adopt in the near future. First of all Pawlak says the Peasant Party is a permanent part of the "seven," and then he says that his party will remain equidistant from both coalitions, grand and small, and wait for the situation to develop. Asked whether he is considering the possibility of joining the "small coalition," Pawlak said no.

During an interval in the talks, Prime Minister Olszewski spoke to Leszek Moczulski, leader of the Confederation of Independent Poland. The participants in the talks insist that that is not the reason why the talks failed. Asked whether he intends to invite the Confederation to the coalition, Olszewski said he is willing to accept any democratic and pro-reformist groups. But one of the prime minister's closest aides said that relations with the Confederation are tense.

Ruling Coalition Discuss Crisis

LD2904170292 Warsaw PAP in English 1520 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] Warsaw, April 29—Prime Minister Jan Olszewski and the seven parties which support his government met on Wednesday [29 April] to discuss the condition of

Polish democracy and measures to overcome the political crisis, Adam Glapinski of the Centre Alliance (PC) said during a break in the meeting.

Glapinski disclosed that a proposal was made at the meeting to start coalition negotiations again with parties often referred to as the Small Coalition, that is the Democratic Union (UD), the Liberal Democratic Congress (KLD), and the Polish Economic Programme (PPG).

The proposal envisioned making a spectacular return to the grand coalition concept even before the next Sejm (lower house) meeting on May 6. Considering the existing situation, Glapinski described context of the meeting as "dramatic."

The participants also reviewed current issues, among them how to win majority in a vote over the Constitutional Tribunal's ruling on retirement benefits, Lech Dymarski of the prime minister's cabinet said.

No communique or statement was published after the meeting which apparently closed with no final conclusions or decisions.

Commenting on the reports that new talks on building a grand coalition were proposed at today's meeting of the seven parties, Deputy Secretary-General of the Democratic Union Ludwika Wujec said that neither Democratic Union itself nor the Small Coalition as a whole can see any possibilities to resume such negotiations.

Ludwika Wujec said there is need to provide broader political basis for the government but going back to the grand coalition concepts would not be recommended today, before budget debate in the Sejm.

Olszewski, Others Meet With Walesa

LD2904182292 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1730 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] The meeting between Prime Minister Jan Olszewski and the leaders of the three parties supporting the government lasted for almost three hours. Government spokesman Marcin Gugulski told the CIC agency: The prime minister presented a report on his talk with the president. Lech Walesa presented Jan Olszewski with his conditions for holding the presidential office. Apart from appointing and recalling the prime minister and the members of the government, the president wants to have a decisive voice on the matters of the ministries of national defense and internal affairs. He has expressed himself in favor of the necessity of creating a supra-party government of experts.

As CIC reports, Prime Minister Jan Olszewski proposed to the president a meeting with the participation of the president, the prime minster, the speaker of the Sejm, and the first chairman of the Supreme Court. Lech Walesa did not reject the idea of such a meeting, although apparently he did not express satisfaction with it. The prime minister told the president that the creation of an extra-parliamentary government is not possible.

Walesa Insists on Government of 'Specialists'

AU3004152392 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 27 Apr 92 p 2

["pina" report: "The President's View of a Government"]

[Text] "After the experience we have been through, we probably all agree that the only solution for Poland is an above-party government, a government we will form out of specialists who have proved themselves in the three governments so far," said President Lech Walesa on the "Panorama" television program on Sunday [26 April], in reply to a question about the future of Jan Olszewski's government.

The president said he would petition the Sejm for "the possibility of more determined action" and "greater rights for the president, whereby the prime minister would be subordinate to the president, just like in the French system."

Walesa, Sejm Speaker Discuss Division of Powers

LD2804212592 Warsaw PAP in English 2035 GMT 28 Apr 92

[Text] Warsaw, April 28—President Lech Walesa on Tuesday [28 April] met with speaker of the Sejm (lower house) Wieslaw Chrzanowski to discuss progress in parliamentary work on the future small constitution.

Welcoming his guest the president said: "Before I met you, I had talked to a delegation of farmers. They told me that the situation could no longer go on like that: We have to improve the efficiency of our activity, otherwise they will burn me, the Belvedere (seat of the president) and you, too. We live to serve the nation, we have to serve the nation faster."

During the meeting, both politicians focussed on the issue of the division of powers between the legislature, the president and the government. The president and the speaker also discussed possibilities for the acceleration, by the Sejm, of the legislative procedure and the handing over of some powers in this respect to the Council of Ministers.

Chrzanowski said after the meeting that he supports the idea to expand the powers of the president, arguing that a president elected in direct elections cannot be limited to performing ceremonious functions.

The speaker stressed that they did not discuss issues linked with the current functioning of the government and added that the president excluded the possibility of the dissolution of parliament in the near future.

Walesa Orders Freeze on Defense Ministry Changes

LD3004151392 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1400 GMT 30 Apr 92

[Text] President Lech Walesa has sent a letter to Deputy Defense Minister Romuald Szeremietiew, the president's press bureau reported today. Here is the content of the letter, carried by PAP:

As head of the armed forces, President Walesa writes, standing guard over the state's sovereignty and security, I request you, the current acting minister of national defense, to halt all organizational and cadre changes in the ministry subordinate to you, until the final clarification of the issues which are the subject of investigation by the commission set up by Sejm Resolution on 25 April this year.

'Main Role' in State Defense Urged for President

LD2904204392 Warsaw PAP in English 1841 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] Warsaw, April 29—The president should play the main role in conducting defence of the state as this is the most stable post in the present political situation, representatives of the National Security Office attached to Lech Walesa said on Wednesday [29 April] at a symposium on defences of the state and command of the Armed Forces.

Officers taking part in the symposium, held at Rembertow outside Warsaw, raised objections to the fact that structural changes in the Army "were as if suspended recently." They postulated to define mutual relations and the division of powers between the president, the national defence minister and the general staff as well as to give up "stereotypes of the Soviet military art."

The debaters stressed that a command system built now and the ways of commanding the Army should conform as much as possible to the standards practised in NATO armies.

Parys To Resume Defense Ministry Duty 4 May

LD2904221192 Warsaw PAP in English 2127 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] Warsaw, April 29—Defence Minister Jan Parys told PAP on Wednesday [29 April] that he was resuming his duties in the ministry as of next Monday [4 May].

Parys, on a leave from work as of April 7, said in a telephone conversation that he had not got acquainted yet with the report of the government commission on the contents and circumstances behind his statements about alleged threat to democracy in Poland.

Likewise, he knew nothing about the meeting, scheduled for Thursday [30 April], of a similar parliamentary commission set up at the request of President Lech Walesa to examine the contents of his televised remarks about an alleged attempt to use the military for political games.

Parys said he was likely to take part in the events marking the 50th anniversary of the formation of the 3rd Carpathian Rifle Division, starting May 1.

Article Examines Changes in Defense Ministry Posts

AU2904185092 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Apr 92 p 2

[Zbigniew Lentowicz article: "A Cadre Breakthrough"]

[Text] Speaking at the January session of the Military Council of the Defense Ministry, the prime minister said he viewed military matters in terms of general state interests, but he added that any changes to the Armed Forces are dictated by the need to adapt them to the new situation and changing threats. He no longer referred to his inaugural speech, in which he said that the organizational and ideological reconstruction of the Army is "too sluggish and inconsistent."

Jan Parys, the first civilian defense minister since the war, took over the Defense Ministry from his predecessor Vice Admiral Piotr Kolodziejczyk, who was dismissed and sent into retirement. This was not just another personnel move, for the admiral's departure marked the end, at least for the time being, of the previous government's idea of a military core inside a civilian defense ministry. This military core was meant to be headed by someone with the dual post of chief of the General Staff and chief inspector of the Armed Forces. Several months before Olszewski's appointment to the National Defense Committee, which is chaired by the president, there was talk of appointing Kolodziejczyk to this new post. Defense Minister Parys's decision to do so, officially approved by the prime minister, was not discussed with Walesa beforehand, although the president is the constitutional head of the Armed Forces. Belvedere considered this impermissible, with the result that a dispute arose between the government and president, fuelled by the imprecise demarcation of their powers concerning national defense.

Subsequent personnel changes inside the Defense Ministry seem to be the result of the principle, adopted by the government and new defense minister, whereby one must respect present regulations defining the defense minister's powers. In any case, Jan Parys said quite recently that these regulations are quite in order. Belvedere disagrees, however.

There is also a controversy on the subject of defense doctrine. Minister Parys insists that even though we no longer identify any specific enemy, there are varying degrees of danger from various quarters. For instance, the destabilization in the East could have a dire effect on us. He also insists that no further military reductions

may be made. "He who does not identify himself with a clear pro-Atlantic option may quit the ranks," said the minister.

In the meantime, because of the costs involved, the consolidation of the militarily neglected Eastern Defense Line has been discontinued for the time being. Halfway solutions are being applied. The reformation of divisions has commenced in several cities in southeastern Poland.

Considering the present "survival budget," it is quite an achievement to have included a Polish contingent among the UN forces sent to Yugoslavia.

As far as personnel moves are concerned, the first dismissal as part of the previously announced decommunization was that of General Miroslaw Hermaszewski, cosmonaut and member of the Military Council for National Salvation [WRON], who was acting deputy commander of the air forces and national air defense. His fate was shared by the commander of the military police. Two nonparty vice ministers of national defense, but nevertheless linked to the Democratic Union, have been replaced by Romuald Szeremetiew of the Polish Independence Party (responsible for the training division of the Defense Ministry), and Radoslaw Sikorski, a journalist (responsible for the Ministry's foreign contacts). This latter appointment and others not discussed with the president beforehand have caused a great deal of controversy on account of Sikorski's dual citizenship, Polish and British.

During this period the incumbents of other key Defense Ministry posts were replaced. Out went the chief of the Military Information Services, the director of the Defense Ministry Cadres Department, the deputy chief of the First Administration of the General Staff, the chief of the Training Department, and the editor in chief of POLSKA ZBROJNA. As far as personnel matters are concerned, Minister Parys' 100 days in office have to be considered momentous. We have to wait to see the fruits of these decisions, but the president "sees no possibility of further cooperation" with Minister Parys.

Walesa Comments on Lack of Democracy, Efficiency

LD2904225492 Warsaw PAP in English 2224 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] Warsaw, April 29—"Democracy is functioning in Warsaw and a few other big cities, but it is missing in remote areas and small towns, where the situation is worse in every respect," President Lech Walesa told the EL PAIS Spanish daily here Wednesday [29 April].

"It is high time to improve the situation in rural areas, because people there are frustrated and dissatisfied," Walesa went on. "How this can be done? By improving the efficiency of government, of course, and by improving the effectiveness of parliament."

"I will not agree to a dissolution of parliament," the president said. "But I will do everything to increase its ability to pass legislation by, for instance, setting up a Sejm presidium, or a Sejm-appointed council of state. Such a body could pass decrees urgently needed by the government."

Asked whether he considered the possibility of asking parliament to recall the prime minister, Walesa replied: "There are several options and this is one of them."

Government 'Overthrow' Attempt Reported

AU2804140792 Warsaw NOWY SWIAT in Polish 22 Apr 92 p 1

["PG" report: "A Plot Against the Government: Geremek With Wachowski"]

[Text] An attempt to overthrow the government of Jan Olszewski is to be made during the Sejm budget debate. The objective is to prevent the formation of the so-called grand coalition, i.e. a coalition of the seven parties that support the government, plus the Democratic Union, Liberal-Democratic Congress, and Polish Economic Program.

The new government, based on a political alliance between President Walesa and representatives of most parliamentary groups, would be answerable to the Belvedere. The parties belonging to the coalition would institutionalize Walesa's desire, shared by some worker circles linked to the so-called "Network" of Solidarity factory commissions, for genuine participation by the head of state in creating a government coalition.

Therefore the president would have the final say in the new political arrangement. His closest colleagues in the government would be Bronislaw Geremek from the Democratic Union and Mieczyslaw Wachowski, secretary of state in the Presidential Chancellery. The central administration would be integrated, consisting of ministries and the Belvedere itself.

The new government base would consist of the Polish Peasant Party, Liberal-Democratic Congress (a quasi-presidential party); the Democratic Union, with at least 12 deputies out of Aleksander Hall's group excluded and with Bronislaw Geremek as party chief instead of Tadeusz Mazowiecki; and the Confederation of Independent Poland [KPN]. The KPN leadership has been holding political consultations for a long time already, mainly with Wachowski, for it is obvious that the Defense Ministry is the ministry the KPN would most like to have. The Agricultural and Environmental Ministries would go to the Polish Peasant Party, and the Liberal-Democratic Congress would take over some central economic institutions (for example, the Ministry of Ownership Changes), whereby Andrzej Olechowski would remain finance minister. The Democratic Union would take over the Interior Ministry, Foreign Ministry, and Ministry of Labor and Social Policy.

It is not clear how the so-called Defense Minister Parys affair would be exploited in this political game. Also

unclear is the stance of Adam Michnik and GAZETA WYBORCZA, who would like to weaken the president and at the same time strike a blow at the milieus that support Jan Olszewski's center-right-wing cabinet. It is thought that such a development of events would be the end of Jan Olszewski's premiership. The Christian-National Union and Center Accord would be cut off from power. From the point of view of the Belvedere and some frightened Sejm political groups, the new set-up would have many qualities, and it could expect to have the quiet support of the communists in the Alliance of the Democratic Left. One can imagine that Lech Walesa's favorites—Piotr Kolodziejczyk and Czeslaw Wawrzyniak—would soon arrive on the political scene.

Legislative Activity of Olszewski Government Viewed

AU2904161592 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Apr 92 p 1

[Jolanta Kroner article: "Pushing Through Legislation"]

[Text] In his inaugural speech, Prime Minister Jan Olszewski announced a thorough revision of the legal system, essential to implement the economic reform and the constitutional principle of a law-governed state. For this purpose a special commission was appointed and given three months to submit suggestions for urgently required changes to legislation. The commission in question is part of the Legislative Council and is chaired by Prof. Zbigniew Radwanski.

The commission has the unenviable task of examining some 500 laws, together with their amendments and other appendices. About half of these laws are new, passed since the June 1989 elections. The legislation has been divided into three categories of urgency:

1. Legislation that determines changes to the political system, in other words encourages an adherence to the principles of a democratic law-governed state and a protection of the public interest and political pluralism;

2. Legislation that determines a new economic system, in other words guarantees freedom of enterprise and competition;

3. Legislation that permits an adaptation to the legal standards of Europe and guarantees an adherence to ratified conventions and Poland's agreement on association with the EEC.

Andrzej Bierc, secretary of the Legislative Council, says that the greatest workload lies in the sphere of financial and economic law, for it is necessary to build a new economic system virtually from scratch. Civil law requires less work because the first stage of reform in this sphere is already complete. As far as criminal law is concerned, a revision will be easier because a special commission has been working on it for several years, but a greater amount of work awaits the legislators in the sphere of economic and fiscal crime. The labor law must also be geared to a market economy and the new relationships between employers and employees.

The first stage of this work is virtually complete, and the appraisal announced by Olszewski should be ready in a few days, so the commission will probably finish its activity within the three-month deadline. How quickly the subsequent stage of legal reform proceeds depends on the government's legislative activity and on the work of parliament. However, haste is not a good idea, and many bad rules can be attributed to it. That is why the ancients used to say "festina lente" ("make haste slowly.")

Yet despite suggestions to the contrary, the Sejm is performing legislative work quite briskly. Out of the 22 laws submitted to the present Sejm, 11 have been passed already. Some 96 executive instructions and 37 resolutions have also been adopted. The Government Legal Bureau has also prepared government stances vis-a-vis 13 deputies bills. Altogether, during the three months of the present government, its Legal Bureau has examined about 539 legal instruments.

However, the delay in the preparation of executive instructions, chiefly by ministers, is almost proverbial. In February there were 201 such instructions awaiting parliamentary approval, and in the middle of April there were 146. The director of the Legal Bureau, Stanislaw Lautsch-Bendkowski, claims that the backlog should be cleared by the middle of May.

But might a new backlog appear? It transpires that the Sejm has ordered the preparation of no fewer than 277 executive instructions for the six laws it has passed this year. Is any government in the world capable of producing such an avalanche of legal instruments? In fact, why is the legislature shirking from so many decisions and passing them to the executive? A legislation so dependent on the government is not a good legislation.

Referendum Planned To Approve New Constitution

AU2804091092 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 24 Apr 92 p 1

[Piotr Zaremba report: "Sejm Chooses Road to Constitution"]

[Text] The Sejm has passed a law on preparing and adopting the new constitution. According to this law, the new constitution will have to be approved by the National Assembly (the Sejm plus the Senate in joint session) and then by society by means of a referendum.

This is a compromise between the opinions of the seven main political parties and that of the president, who compelled the Sejm to accept the idea of holding a referendum, but had no such luck with his other ideas.

The right to submit the draft constitution belongs to the president, 56 members of the National Assembly, and the National Assembly Constitutional Commission. This

Commission is charged with producing a single document out of the various proposals that have appeared until now. Despite Walesa's wishes, however, it consists of nothing but deputies and senators. He wanted representatives of the president, government, and Constitutional Tribunal to be full members of the Commission, but these persons will only be able to sit in as advisers.

A two-thirds majority will be required both in the Commission and entire National Assembly in order to approve the constitution. The president may object to individual provisions, but if his objections are rejected by a majority vote, there is nothing more he can do to interfere with the constitution.

The final stage is a national referendum, the result of which will be binding whatever the turnout.

It has not been decided what would happen if the constitution is rejected. Perhaps it would be necessary to start all over again and draft a new constitution.

Initiative on Constitutional Law Planned

LD2904083792 Warsaw PAP in English 2156 GMT 28 Apr 92

[Text] Warsaw, April 28—The government decided on Tuesday [28 April] to launch shortly a legislative initiative connected with the drafting of a provisional constitutional law.

Premier Jan Olszewski presented to the cabinet conclusions stemming from his Monday's [27 April] talks with President Lech Walesa which, he said, point to the need of preparing such a legislation to ensure greater efficiency to the organs of authority in the period before a new constitution is passed.

The document is to be drafted by a working team composed of the Justice Minister Zbigniew Dyka and Secretary of State at the Council of Ministers Office Kazimierz Malecki in cooperation with Education Minister Andrzej Stelmachowski. The cabinet agreed that emphasis should be laid in the document on the strengthening of executive power and on definitely breaking with Stalinist principles underlying the currently binding constitution of 1952.

The government also upheld its stand of a week ago maintaning that the constitutional tribunal's ruling on valorization of pensions and wages in the budget-financed public sector cannot be effected. At the same time, the government appointed a team, including ministers of finance, labour and privatization, which is to work out a concept of a pensions fund financed from means obtained through privatization.

The cabinet heard and approved a proposal presented by Agriculture Minister Gabriel Janowski to establish a fund for the purpose of reducing farmers' debts and restructuring agriculture. A draft legal act on the fund's creation is to be examined by the government at its next session.

The government's session was also devoted to problems of combating economic offences. The ministers decided that a report on the matter will be presented to the Sejm (lower house) within a month.

Minister Says Economy Improved Slightly

LD2904225192 Warsaw PAP in English 1703 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] Warsaw, April 29—Symptoms of a slight economic growth were observed in the Polish economy during the first quarter of this year, said Minister Jerzy Eysymontt at a press conference in Warsaw on Wednesday [29 April].

Eysymontt said these symptoms include growing industrial production combined with lower inflation, and also better labour efficiency, surplus in foreign trade, budget deficit lower than planned, and development of the private sector.

Minister Eysymontt made it clear, however, that diverting from the budget bill provisions is out of question. "A budget allowing for both rulings of the Constitutional Tribunal on pensions revalorization would be infeasible," he said adding that the government would try to work out some sort of non-cash compensation.

Acting Defense Minister Receives NATO's Galvin

LD2804113892 Warsaw PAP in English 1018 GMT 28 Apr 92

[Text] Warsaw, April 28—Acting Defence Minister Romuald Szeremietiew and the NATO supreme allied commander Europe, General John Galvin, discussed the development of relations between Poland and NATO and the problems connected with European security, on Tuesday [28 April]. The general is on a three-day visit to Poland.

"The visit of General Galvin, like all visits from that side, is necessary for the Polish Army so that it can find itself in the place in which it ought to find itself", Szeremetiew told journalists after the meeting.

He added that the help of NATO specialists in the restructuring of Poland's armed forces was "desired, because for a long time specialists from a quite different area functioned in this country and we did not come out of that well".

Trade Cooperation Agreement Signed With Georgia

LD2904202992 Warsaw PAP in English 1618 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] Warsaw, April 29—Georgian Deputy-Minister of Foreign Affairs Mikhail Ukleba and Polish Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Adam Glapinski signed a

Polish-Georgian agreement determining the principles of cooperation in trade and economy in Warsaw on Wednesday [29 April].

The agreement provides for an exchange of commercial and technical representatives, as well as establishing joint stock companies and joint ventures, carrying joint research, consulting and organizing exhibitions and fairs.

All deals and payments between the two countries will be cleared in convertible currencies or in other forms allowed by both partners' laws.

Tirgu Mures Runoff Will Be Held as Scheduled

AU2904211492 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2024 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/4/1992—In a statement made today, April 29, the prefect of Mures County, Vasile Urdea, informs the electorate that, beyond the diversity of opinions and the rumors vehiculated among citizens, the local elections will be held in Tirgu-Mures as scheduled, that is on May 3. He calls on the electorate to vote considering it "a proof of civic consciousness, political maturity and genuine patriotism."

The Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR] decided in a special meeting not to participate in the May 3 ballot to elect the city mayor, assessing it illegal. The PUNR also called on all the party sympathizers not to vote.

As is known, given the mistakes made in the locality during the February 9 elections, the mayor elected then, an independent supported by the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR], resigned. The Central Election Commission decided first to organize another round in a fortnight, and then to hold another ballot with new candidates as suggested by the UDMR. According to the PUNR's opinion, the Central Election Commission was submitted to government's pressures, assessing this as "an inadmissible interference of the government in election procedures, grossly violating the principle of separation of powers in the state."

Because meanwhile the county court to which the PUNR applied decided that "a second ballot should be held with the candidates remained in the contest," a decision that came into force after fifteen days since the term for appeal expired, the PUNR requested the government to put off the election term for May 17, when a final verdict was to be given by the Supreme Court of Justice, which was repelled by the government. In a statement the PUNR accuses the government of having attached "no significance to the frustration the Romanian electorate feels."

The candidates for the office of mayor in the city of Tirgu-Mures are Victor Nagy [UDMR], Octavian Negruti Fekete, Social Democratic Party of Romania [PSDR], and Constantin Herisan, the Romanian Democratic Alliance, which includes the PUNR and the National Peasant Party, and the National Liberal Party's local branches. [all names as received]

Parliament Considers Election's Party Symbol

AU3004084892 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2033 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/4/1992—An incident occurred Wednesday, April 29, in the Chamber of Deputies, which caused a suspension of works.

Several amendments were made to Article 39, referring to the political parties' electoral badges. One of them included—at the request of the National Liberal Party [PNL]—in the report of the Law, Discipline and Immunities Commission, says that a badge used in the previous elections can no longer be used by a different party or coalition, without the consent of the party or parties having formed the initial coalition. According to this amendment, the Democratic Convention could not use a key as its electoral badge, without the consent of the PNL.

As the amendment initiated by the commission that initiated the bill was validated by vote, Deputy Ion Diaconescu, a representative of the National Peasant Party [PNT], said that the parliamentary group he represents considered it was no longer the case to participate in the passing of the bill regulating the election of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate.

The representatives of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania and those of the Ecologist Party of Romania made similar statements. All the deputies of the parties in the Democratic Convention walked out of the hall. The chairman of the Chamber of Deputies, Dan Martian, asked for a 30-minute break, during which the standing bureau was going to hold a sitting, attended by the leaders of all parliamentary groups.

The standing bureau of the Chamber of Deputies and the leaders of the parliamentary groups decided in a sitting held during the break of plenary proceedings to send Article 39 back to the Law, Discipline and Immunities Commission, for reconsideration. The decision was presented to the plenum of the chamber and endorsed. The deputies for the Democratic Convention, who had walked out of the hall, came back. Another five articles were validated, referring to the printing of ballot papers, their circulation to voting sections, the length of the electoral campaign, and the way to finance political parties for the elections.

The Chamber of Deputies will sit again Thursday, April 30.

Senators Withdraw From PNL Parliamentary Group

AU2904203192 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1955 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 29/4/1992—After a couple of days when it celebrated Easter, Romania's Senate resumed works in plenum Wednesday [29 April] afternoon. The agenda included only one document: the bill regarding the organization and functioning of the Constitutional Court.

At the beginning of the session Senator Valentin Vasilescu for the Romanian Ecologist Party, who had adhered to the Liberal Parliamentary Group, just as Senator of Sibiu Mircea Curelea, National Liberal Party [PNL] member, announced their withdrawal from the liberals' parliamentary group, declaring themselves independent. They reasoned their attitude in the PNL'S stopping to collaborate with the Democratic Convention.

Four senators have withdrawn so far from the liberals' parliamentary group.

According to the Senate's rules, the minimal number of senators required to make up a parliamentary group is ten.

After today's withdrawals, the PNL no longer complies with the rules.

Deputy Ban Reads Withdrawal Statement

AU3004071992 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2030 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 29/4/1992—Wednesday [29 April], the plenum of the lower chamber heard deputy Ioan Ban's statement saying he withdrew from the National Liberal Party [PNL] parliamentary group to protest against the party leadership's decision not to participate in the general elections within the Democratic Convention.

FSN Splinter Registered as 'Democratic FSN'

AU3004110692 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 30 Apr 92

[Text] An hour ago the Bucharest Municipal Court passed its judgment on the file regarding the registration of the National Salvation Front [FSN]-22 December as a political party. The court admitted eight of the 10 intervention requests contesting the name of the new political grouping, deciding to register it as a legal body in the special register of the Bucharest Municipal Court as the party called Democratic National Salvation Front, with official headquarters in Filioara Street No. 3, Sector 2, Bucharest.

Court Denies Being Influenced by State Bodies

AU2904163092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1603 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 29/4/1992—No state body—presidency, parliament, government—has afforded to influence in one way or another the activities of the courts of justice. All solutions pronounced by the Supreme Court of Justice are the result of the conviction of judges, who are independent and submit themselves only to the law, reads a communique of the Supreme Court of Justice sent to "ROMPRES," in answer to allegations in the written press, saying that the decision of the court, that gave sentences between eight and 16 years in jail to the members of the steering body of the former Romanian Communist Party, was influenced by interferences of the presidency.

We consider such allegations to be offenses to the authority of the Supreme Court of Justice, says the communique, which adds that unfortunately, a number of journalists libeled and insulted the judges of the Supreme Court of Justice who pronounced the sentence. The decision observes all legal criteria, individualizes punishments and represents the expression of the intimate conviction of the judges, mentions the communique.

Commission Announces Preliminary Census Results

AU2904211092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1944 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/4/1992—Romania's population stands at 22,749,000, according to the provisional results of the January 7, 1992 population census, that is 5.5 percent higher than the figures of the 1977 census, the National Commission for Statistics announced at a Wednesday, 29 April press conference.

According to the provisional data released on the occasion, Bucharest's population, Ilfov agricultural district included, numbers 2,349,000 people. The population has increased since the previous census in 35 counties and in the capital, and diminished in the counties of Teleorman, Sibiu, Arad, Giurgiu, and Caras-Severin. 54 percent of Romania's population lives in towns, says the census.

Specialists said that the drop in Romania's population—as against the 23,129,000 estimated on January 1, 1992—had been caused by emigration and diminutions of the natural increase, especially over the past two years.

7.3 million households have been reported, 11 percent more than in 1977. Households average 2.5 rooms in Romania, and rooms 13.7 square meters, which means 11.6 square meters per person.

As was scheduled, data on sexes, nationalities, denominations at the level of counties and towns, and on household facilities will be released in the second half of May.

Foreign Ministry's Melescanu Holds News Briefing

AU2904211992 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2025 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 29/4/1992—Final preparations are made regarding the military observers groups from Moldova, Romania, Russia and Ukraine, whose task is to directly watch over the observance of the understanding on cease-fire and guaranteed separation of forces in the Transdniestria, stated Wednesday [29 April] at his usual weekly news conference secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Teodor Melescanu.

He also detailed on his visit to the Republic of Serbia on April 28, when several aspects were approached related to the contribution the two countries can make to finding out solutions to the Yugoslav crisis.

Referring to Mr. Hans-Dietrich Genscher's resignation, Mr. Melescanu said: Aware of his essential contribution to an ascending course of the Romanian-German ties, we are highly appreciative of his work put in the service of the East-West cooperation and the integration of the young democracies into the European nations' concert.

Mr. Melescanu also briefed on the stage in the negotiations on the Romanian-Hungarian treaty, asserting that the recognition of the present borders between the two countries is a very important clause for the Romanian side. In the Romanian-Hungarian relations the psychological factor is highly important, and this is the one that hinders us to solve several problems. The inclusion of this clause into the treaty's text is important to disassemble such a mechanism of suspicions, he said.

Government Statement on New Yugoslav Constitution

AU2904172292 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1600 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Excerpt] A weekly government meeting started at 1100 GMT today at Bucharest's Victoria Palace. Before turning to the meeting's agenda, Mr. I.V. Sandulescu, state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, read a statement on the promulgation of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, on 27 April 1992. The statement reads as follows:

Proceeding from the requirements of the policy of good neighborliness and understanding, and in view of its responsibility for stability and security in the region, Romania's Government reiterates the decision to observe the choices of all the peoples of the Yugoslav republics in exerting their right to self- determination, including the right to establish various forms of association among themselves. The Romanian Government took note of the setting up of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and of the contents of the verbal note sent by the Yugoslav Embassy in Bucharest to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a note that reads as follows:

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia continues to exert all the rights and obligations of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia—including the quality of member in all international organizations and its status as party to the international conventions ratified or approved by Yugoslavia; the diplomatic, consular, and other representations of Yugoslavia continue to exert their functions and represent the interests of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, while the diplomatic, consular, and other representations of foreign states and international organizations in Yugoslavia will continue to enjoy the same status in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia—end quote.

On this occasion, Romania's Government reiterates its support for the efforts made by the European Community to peacefully resolve the Yugoslav crisis. [passage omitted]

Russians Demand 'Total Control' Over Archives

AU2904182292 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 21 Apr 92 p 1

[A.M. PRESS-signed article: "Could It Be True?"]

[Text] Professor Ioan Scurtu, general director of the State Archives, is now in Moscow to discuss the program project suggested by the Russian partner. According to well-informed sources in this institution, "the Russians are demanding direct, total, and permanent control—as they used to have before—over Romania's archives, and Pihoia [name as published], the new general director of the Russian Federation's Archives, who is directly subordinate to Yeltsin, is practicing the style of his Soviet predecessor. His empire continues to impose unacceptable terms, humiliating his partners in Eastern Europe, while the KGB's second echelon is operating full steam." The same sources mentioned the name of a number of Romanian generals—all of them graduates of the Frunze military academy [in Kyrgyzstan in the former Soviet Union]—now sheltered by Cotroceni [the Romanian Presidency], to whom these attempts to subordinate Romania's archives are not alien. "No one was allowed to graduate from that famed academy without first signing a written pledge in Moscow," our source said, adding that he has evidence and documents to prove this, including names of officers who are still acting as go-betweens to Moscow.

Lisbon Delegations Support UN Troop Arrival

LD2904133592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1007 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] Lisbon, 29 Apr (TANJUG)—All three Bosnia-Hercegovina delegations at the peace conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina in Lisbon support the arrival of UN blue helmets in that former Yugoslav republic, saying that this would be of considerable importance for the preservation of peace.

"I hold that it is most important to stop the bloodshed" said Bosnia-Hercegovina Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic, who is heading the Muslim delegation from Bosnia in the absence of Alija Izetbegovic. "In this regard, the role of the Blue Helmets could be decisive. I hope that the United Nations will send peace forces to Bosnia in time to save many lives. Apart from that, the presence of the Blue Helmets would be of fundamental importance for the stabilization of peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina."

Mate Boban, head of the Croatian delegation from Bosnia, also supported the arrival of the Blue Helmets.

Radovan Karadzic, head of the Serbian delegation from Bosnia-Hercegovina, said that he also thinks it would not be bad if the Blue Helmets arrived, because they certainly would contribute to the stabilization of peace, for example, in maintaining the ceasefire which was agreed on two weeks ago. He believes, however, that it would be logical to deploy the UN peace forces along the line separating ethnic communities in Bosnia to prevent conflicts. To make the deployment possible along these lines, Karadzic believes that it will be necessary first to draw up interethnic borders.

This is what has been under discussion in Lisbon since yesterday. The three delegations from Bosnia-Hercegovina—representatives of Muslims, Serbs, and Croats—have been negotiating the future constitutional system of Bosnia-Hercegovina, including the drawing up of borders between the three ethnic communities. These negotiations are being conducted by Portugese Ambassador Jose Cutilheiro, who is in charge of the complex Bosnia-Hercegovina issue within the European Community.

Karadzic Expects Agreement

LD3004164292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1451 GMT 30 Apr 92

[Text] Lisbon, April 30 (TANJUG)—Serbs from Bosnia-Hercegovina (BIH) expect that an agreement will be reached at the conference in Lisbon on the confederation of the republic, in which the national communities would participate on the basis of parity and consensus, the leader of Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina Radovan Karadzic said today;

If an agreement on a confederation is not reached, however, "we will have to opt either for our own independent state or join another state", Karadzic said in an interview to the [words indistinct].

Karadzic, who heads the Serbian delegation at the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina in Lisbon, expressed his apprehension that the Moslems would boycott every agreement. Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic "barely made it to Lisbon", "because he no longer needs this conference", Karadzic said.

Karadzic maintains that the European Community made a rash move when it recognized Bosnia-Hercegovina. "This should not have been done before the republic's transformation, because Moslems will in this case boycott an agreement, as has been proven at this conference as well", Karadzic said.

He underscored that Serbs were for negotiations, because they were better than war.

"We are not a minority in Bosnia-Hercegovina, but one of the constituent peoples", Karadzic said and explained that Serbs were taking part in the Lisbon conference to prevent the nations in [words indistinct] becoming minorities".

"No-one can take decisions in the name of the Serbs. Serbs want to make decisions for themselves.", Karadzic said.

There are 1.5 million Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina and they make up one-third of the republic's population. The Moslem-Croatian coalition in Bosnia-Hercegovina proclaimed the republic's independence and won international recognition without the Serbs' consent, although the BIH constitution sets out that such decisions can be adopted only by a consensus of all the three constituent peoples. Karadzic maintzains that the Yugoslav People's Army's (JNA) withdrawal from Bosnia cannot be carried out immediately and rashly, because numerous questions must be resolved beforehand.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina presidency, which has been working without the Serbian representatives, adopted a decision on the JNA's withdrawal from the republic. The Army considers the decision invalid and regards the JNA's transformation to be the only solution. The Army has simultaneously been [words indistinct] of some of its compounds in Bosnia-Hercegovina but Croatian-Moslem para-military troops have been obstructing it by blocking its barracks.

Talks Continue

LD3004142392 Lisbon RTP-1 Television Network in Portuguese 1200 GMT 30 Apr 92

[Text] Bosnia's cities seem to be calm today. This quietness on the battleground no doubt favors the peace talks underway in Lisbon. The three Bosnian communities, the Muslims, the Serbs, and the Croats continue to search for a peaceful solution under EC auspices. Our report is now ready:

[Reporter Isabel Horta] The Serb and Croat delegations and the representative of the Bosnian opposition are in

the lobby of the hotel where the talks are taking place. Hence, it may be assumed that Jose Cutilheiro is at the moment talking to the Muslim delegation.

[Unidentified reporter in street] These meetings seek to obtain compliance with the cease-fire. However, not even the expected presence of the Muslim representative, who arrived in Lisbon yesterday, seems to have altered the state of affairs although it has enabled the talks to resume. It is not yet known when the multilateral meetings will be held or whether they will be held at all, since none of the delegations appears to want to make concessions. Some think, however, it all depends on the Muslim delegation.

[Begin recording—in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed Portuguese translation] [Serbian leader Radovan Karadzic] We have very bad news about the behavior of the Muslim artillery, they are bombing Sarajevo and they are attacking army positions. They are attacking their own cities in order to accuse the Serbs and sabotage this peace conference. They are not interested in a conference because they have their own international recognition.

[Reporter] Do you intend to meet the Muslim delegation here in Lisbon?

[Karadzic] If Mr. Cutilheiro feels this would help. I will meet with anyone to achieve progress. [end recording]

[Reporter] Also attending these talks, although not being talked about much, is the delegation of the Bosnian opposition parties, a delegation which does not appear to have much confidence in these negotiations.

[Begin Zlatko Lagumdjija recording in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed Portuguese translation] Personally, I think that the fact that Sarajevo was under heavy bombing shows you that people who are negotiating here either are not controlling these forces, which means they do not represent the people there, or else, if they do control the people over there, firing on Saravejo—which is just a small case—then this also shows you that they do not want the war to end. [end recording]

Serbian Leader Says UN Troops Needed

LD2904203892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1939 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] Sarajevo, April 29 (TANJUG)—U.N. peace troops were needed in multi-ethnic Bosnia-Hercegovina (BIH), Velibor Ostojic, Serbian Republic of BIH government member told TANJUG on Wednesday. Fierce inter-ethnic clashes have been going on in the BIH for nearly a whole month.

In Ostojic's view, "Blue Helmets" should be deployed "there where the Serbian people was attacked and where there was conflict between ethnic communities."

He elaborated that the disputed territories included the valley of the River Neretva, which draws a natural and ethnic border between the Serbs and the Croats in the BIH, the valley of the River Sava, on the very border with the neighboring secessionist Croatia, from where, as he said, the Croatian military formations made incursions on the territory of the BIH, and the capital of the BIH—Sarajevo.

Ostojic announced that the Serbian people in the BIH would on the territory of its republic accept all members of the Yugoslav Army, which has been asked to leave the BIH by the republic's rump presidency. After the Serb members of the presidency left it in early April, this body consisted only of Moslems and Croats.

Members of the three most numerous Yugoslav peoples live in the BIH—Muslims - 44 percent, Serbs—31 percent and Croats—17 percent. Serbs formed their own republic within the BIH on April 7 in response to the recognition of the BIH by the European Community the same day.

Citizens Asked To Prevent Army Removing Hardware

AU2904115692 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] The Press Center of the Territorial Defense of Bosnia-Hercegovina issued the following statement for the public:

All citizens and members of the Territorial Defense of Bosnia-Hercegovina are being asked to prevent the former Yugoslav Peoples' Army [JNA] from removing equipment and military hardware from its premises and warehouses, as the Army is not acting in accordance with the decision of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency passed on 27 April 1992, banning [words indistinct] means before the agreement on final settlement of accounts is reached.

Any such column of the former JNA, unless announced, accompanied by members of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Ministry of Internal Affairs, and under EC supervision, represents a violation of the Presidency's decision. (?A mandatory) task of citizens and all members of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Territorial Defense is to immediately inform the nearest Headquarters of the Territorial Defense in the commune of these movements and to resist them most adamantly with barricades and any other means that would prevent [word indistinct].

Members of the former JNA and the extremist part of the Serbian Democratic Party [words indistinct] all this with an aim to gather as many people as possible who would subsequently be exchanged for captured terrorists and [word indistinct]. We are warning that we will respond sharply to all these actions as it is under no circumstances acceptable [word indistinct] to detain innocent residents and then treat them as prisoners of war and exchange them [words indistinct].

General Kukanjac Assails Croatian Army

LD2904151492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1230 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 29 April (TANJUG)—Commander of the 2d Military District Colonel General Milutin Kukanjac stated at a news conference in Sarajevo today that some parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina have for months been occupied by the Croatian Army; this has been one of the biggest problems on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The Bosnia-Hercegovina leadership is aware of this situation, but it has been silent. Why that is so, you have to ask them, General Kukanjac told journalists.

We have got precise details on the presence and activities of the Croatian army on the territory of Hercegovina, Tomislavgrad, Livno and Bosanska Posavina, where their number is between (?5,000) and 30,000. These are the forces which the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] has been fighting for a long time now, and undeniable evidence has been provided to representatives of the European Community, the United Nations, and Turkey, General Kukanjac stated.

After everything that happened in Sarajevo and in other crisis flashpoints this month, all those who have party, state or other functions, General Kukanjac said, must seriously start working to spare this people from human losses, destruction, and similar consequences.

The people of Bosnia-Hercegovina, who did nothing to deserve such [words indistinct] have to explain to the parents of the killed and injured soldiers why they are being sent to their death. The departure of the Croatian army and other paramilitary forces from these areas and the disarmament of domestic republican paramilitary forces consstitutes the key to resolving the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, General Kukanjac stressed. This is unavoidable and inevitable, otherwise, he said, the citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina must stop and ask themselves in which direction the republic is heading.

General Kukanjac said that the time has come to stop all shooting and all armed clashes in Bosnia-Hercegovina, as this evil will lead to catastrophe. He called on the citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina to exert influence on the leaderships of the national parties to come to their senses and stop interethnic armed clashes.

Members of the 2d Military District and I personally, General Kukanjac said, have done a great deal, we have done everything we could to prevent interethnic armed clashes and to localize them in the places where they had broken out. The cease-fire reached on 12 April and confirmed by the declaration on 23 April has been largely observed. However, he added, some paramilitary formations are not respecting the decision on the cease-fire and this can slow down the efforts of both the EC and well-intentioned people in Bosnia-Hercegovina to solve the crisis peacefully. The JNA was created on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Colonel General Kukanjac said, stressing that it achieved famous victories against fascism while honorably and honestly carrying out all its duties in the post-war period.

With the secession of some republics and the chaos provoked on the territory of Yugoslavia by some domestic and foreign forces under the cloak of a sad type of democracy which in the end brought us to this miserable state, General Kukanjac said, the JNA came under the attack of these evil forces even though it did nothing to provoke this chaos.

Instead of being the subject of common-sense and civilized talks and negotiations about its transformation, the JNA has become a target for vandals and violence, General Kukanjac said. Any agreement between the nations of Bosnia-Hercegovina and their representatives and above all between the leaders of the national parties about what type of state or states they want we will respect, as I say, if they agree and regardless of who wins and who loses, and will then proceed to carry out an adequate transformation. As you can see, no such agreement has been made, and the Muslim-Croat coalition under the cloak of the so-called territorial defense of Bosnia-Hercegovina has been attacking the army both in the media and with weapons, General Kukanjac stressed.

General Kukanjac said that he had shown Cyrus Vance, Jose Cutilheiro, Joao de Deus Pinheiro, Lord Carrington, Ralph Johnson, Ambassador Warren Zimmerman, and other foreign personalities a directive issued by the Bosnia-Hercegovina leadership declaring war on both the JNA and the Serbs. This directive was issued on 12 April, the very day we reached the current cease-fire agreement, he said.

General Kukanjac quoted the following from the text of the directive: "Immediately to take over ammunition and weapon dumps and to blockade and take over JNA barracks and capture Yugoslav army members still on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina."

"It seems to me that no comment is needed here, General Kukanjac said. The leadership's story that the directive has been withdrawn is a farce, he added, and went on to stress that "on the contrary, all actions by the Alija [Izetbegovic] army have been proceeding according to this directive."

The 2d Military District commander said that the JNA has for some time now been leaving some of its facilities, barracks and garrisons in Bosnia-Hercegovina in a planned way; however, the Muslim-Croat paramilitaries have been surrounding our facilities, engaging in provocations and blackmail, and preventing the army's free movement, etc.

General Kukanjac warned all those involved in this kind of activity to stop, or face serious consequences. He said that a recent attack on the 2d Military District Command had been directed from the building of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency and that it had stopped only after he telephoned a member of the Presidency at about

2330 that evening to warn him that unless the attack ceased the Presidency building would be attacked.

General Kukanjac said that "self-styled military police, territorial defense, internal affairs ministries and other paramilitaries have been terrorizing active and retired military personnel, civilians serving in the JNA, and their families, and have been breaking into army-owned appartments, plundering, searching and damaging their property."

A decision of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency on the withdrawal of the JNA, adopted without the participation of representatives of the Serbian nation, cannot be taken seriously, is invalid and is not binding on the JNA members, General Kukanjac said. He added that the decision was yet another in a series of failures of the Bosnia-Hercegovina leadership toward the JNA, and stressed it would have been invalid had the session been attended by representatives of the Serbian people. The army is too serious an institution to be subject to decisions by inexperienced and hostile people, General Kukanjac said. The only possible and the only just solution is the transformation of the JNA, and a lot has been done in this regard.

General Kukanjac said he does not know anything about the dislocation of army industry facilities from Bosnia-Hercegovina. Asked about the preparation of a report on war crimes for the United Nations, other international institutions, the United States and so on, which is being prepared by the current Bosnia-Hercegovina government, he said that a substitution of premises [zamena teza] is involved here. Those who are the first to blame for the chaos are the leading national parties and their paramilitary units, and they now wish to shift the blame on the JNA, General Kukanjac said.

Asked about the killing of the two members and functionaries of the Socialist Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina, General Kukanjac said they were killed by a sentry in front the building of the Command of the 2d Military District because they had been firing on the building. Let Nijaz Durakovic explain to the parents of the killed people, members of his party and all citizens why his men opened fire on the command, General Kukanjac said.

Ministry Demands Adherence to Defense Order

LD2904175492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1710 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 29 Apr (TANJUG)—The Bosnia-Hercegovina Ministry for Internal Affairs has sent an instruction marked "very urgent" to all its bodies to follow the order of the republican Territorial Defense Headquarters.

It is necessary for all security service centers, public security stations, and the Sarajevo Ministry for Internal Affairs to undertake all necessary measures and activities within their powers to ensure that the order of the Command of the Headquarters of the Territorial Defense of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina is carried out, the instruction signed by Alija Delimustafic, Bosnia-Hercegovina minister for internal affairs, says.

Efendic Order on Opposing Army Deemed False

AU2904191092 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1818 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] Since we know that many of our listeners also are listening to and watching important news programs on Sarajevo Television, they certainly heard at the beginning of this evening's daily television newscast a report about the false telex bearing the signature of Colonel Hasan Efendic [commander of the Territorial Defense], which was issued concerning alleged orders to all the headquarters of the Territorial Defense to oppose Army units in their movement across Bosnia-Hercegovina. This telex has been denied.

A few minutes ago, we again contacted the headquarters of the Territorial Defense, and they once again told us that this is a pure falsification and a pure lie, a deception that has been planted to justify possible new attacks on Sarajevo and other towns and areas of Bosnia-Hercegovina. I listened to the report for Belgrade Radio that took this telex to be authentic and presented it as a virtual declaration of war on the Yugoslav People's Army by the Territorial Defense.

So, we are once again repeating the official stand and official statement by the Territorial Defense of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina that no kind of telex with such a content has been sent by this organization. So, no means will exist for the Territorial Defense to oppose the Yugoslav People's Army at this moment. Any abuse of this telex, that is, from this moment, really is abuse because a telex of such content does not exist, that is to say, there is no reason for the Yugoslav People's Army to act preventively in this direction.

I am saying all this because in the last few minutes we have been receiving reports mainly from Sarajevo that some combat activities have begun that could be linked to this false telex. So, the official stand is that such a telex particularly concerning a declaration of war on the Yugoslav People's Army by the Territorial Defense does not exist, nor does any reason exist for war activities.

Presidency Ready To Negotiate Army Status

LD3004160492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1416 GMT 30 Apr 92

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, 30 Apr (TANJUG)—The Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, which representatives of the Serb people have left, today sent a reply to General Blagoje Adzic expressing readiness to start intensive talks about the current problems regarding the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] and its status following international recognition of this republic. The rump Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency proposes—as stated at today's

news conference—that General Adzic name a group of negotiators who will conduct talks in Sarajevo and in the presence of EC observers. At the news conference, Colonel Stjepan Siber, deputy commander of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Territorial Defense, commented on remarks made yesterday by General Kukanjac, commander of the Second Military District. Siber denied information that about 80 percent of JNA members on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina, come from this republic. He claimed that only 20 percent of JNA members are from Bosnia-Hercegovina. [passage omitted]

Official Comments on Adzic's Letter

AU2904225892 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] The regular news conference was held today in the International Press Center in the building of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency. It was attended by our colleague Ljiljana Radl:

[Begin recording] [Radl] Reporters were addressed today for the first time in this center by Mariofil Ljubic, vice president of the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina, who said:

[Ljubic] I would call on this occasion on my colleagues, delegates and deputies, who are in the field and have been elected by those citizens and members of the nations and tell them that, since there is no opportunity to meet here in the Assembly, they should work in the field because they have been elected to work both in the field and in the Assembly and that they should use their authority and do everything to ensure that this war ends and that aggression against Bosnia-Hercegovina stops. I think that they can do a lot because they have an influence among citizens, since, after all, the citizens have voted for them.

[Radl] Dr. Ejup Ganic, member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, began his speech by addressing the citizens of the towns that have been submitted to the fiercest war destructions.

[Ganic] I would like to tell the citizens of these threatened places that they should believe us that we have done everything in our power.

[Radl] Colonel Vehbija Karic, member of the Central Headquarters of the Territorial Defense of Bosnia-Hercegovina, devoted most of his speech to the letter sent by Colonel General Blagoje Adzic.

[Karic] In his letter, Adzic calls our Presidency's decision one-sided and hurried and at the same time obviously uses threats by asserting that these moves may lead to, I quote, a further escalation of clashes with unforeseeable consequences.

As the only legal and legitimate highest body of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Presidency of this internationally recognized autonomous and independent country should have the right to make decisions belonging to spheres envisaged by the law and Constitution.

The decision on the withdrawal of the units of the former Yugoslav People's Army is one of such decisions. The fact that somebody considers such a decision to be one-sided is that person's problem. [end recording]

Adzic Visits Banja Luka

AU3004102092 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 30 Apr 92

[Text] Lieutenant General Blagoje Adzic, acting federal secretary for national defense, is visiting Banja Luka today. He is holding talks with the commanders of the Banja Luka, Knin, and Bihac Corps, Generals Momir Talic, Ratko Mladic, and Spiro Nikovic respectively. General Adzic is expected to hold talks this afternoon with the representatives of the civilian authorities in the Bosnian Krajina on the army's status in this area.

Silajdzic Interviewed on Territory, Solutions

92AE0338A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 19 Apr 92 p 4

[Article by 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Sadiqi and Taj-al-Din 'Abd-al-Haq]

[Text] Abu Dhabi—Dr. Haris Kamil Silajdzic, foreign minister of the Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina, said that he can see no opportunity to create a way out of the present crisis in his country without international military intervention. In an exclusive statement to AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT during his visit to Abu Dhabi, he said "the required military intervention is an intervention under the UN umbrella, with participation by all the countries that can participate in the war effort."

Silajdzic expressed his belief that military intervention could begin by dispatching the peacekeeping forces now in Croatia, sending more EC forces, and seeking urgent relief for the refugees and wounded. He said that the Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina, which is populated by a Muslim majority, will not accept ceding part of its territory as a means to reach a political way out of the current fighting. He said the Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina is a sovereign state within legal borders. The world, he added, cannot accept the logic of force that Serbia and the former Yugoslav army, which includes a Serbian majority, are trying to impose.

The minister said his country lacks the military equipment to defend itself, since the fighters in the Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina have only light weapons, while the Serbs use planes, tanks, and military equipment that belonged to the former Yugoslav army. He expressed the fear that the number of dead in the current war in his country might reach hundreds of thousands.

He said that the situation is worsening because the republic is under attack by the former Yugoslav army

and the army-backed Serbian terrorist groups. Talking about some operational details, he said the attack that was launched on 3 April was first aimed at the town of Bijeljina where a savage massacre took place in which hundreds of Muslims were killed. Their exact number is unknown, despite efforts by the EC. The massacre, he added, was repeated even more intensely in a number of other villages where planes, tanks, and heavy artillery carried out savage and indiscriminate shelling, the likes of which Europe had not seen since the end of World War II.

He said the villages that were the target of Serbian attack were Vizegrad and Zvarnik Kupres, and the suburbs of Mostar. Replying to a question regarding the possibility of coexistence with the Serbs, the minister said that the Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina includes three races: 44 percent Muslims, 18 percent Croats, and 31 percent Serbs. As everyone has acknowledged, the Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina has been following a peaceful policy, if only the Yugoslav army, which consists of a Serbian majority, had not sought to expand into Bosnia and Hercegovina's territory, and to expel the Muslims from their towns and villages. The Bosnia and Hercegovina foreign minister, who was accompanying the president on his visit to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, praised the understanding that the Custodian of the Two Holy Places King Fahd Ibn-'Abd-al-'Aziz has shown toward his country's problem. He also praised the degree of awareness the Custodian of the Two Holy Places has demonstrated toward the plight of the Muslims in the Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina.

He said that he found in Saudi Arabia total readiness to provide moral and material support to help the Muslims of Bosnia and Hercegovina. He said he will return to Riyadh to continue the talks after his visit to Abu Dhabi.

With regard to the European stand, the Bosnia and Hercegovina foreign minister said that Europe is aware of the crisis in the former Yugoslavian union, and realizes that there will be no peace as long as the republics are the target of Serbian terrorism. He expressed the hope that Europe will play a role in defending his country and will prompt the UN adopt effective resolutions in this regard.

Statement Issued on JNA 'Aggression'

AU2904230492 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] The Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina discussed at its session today the continuation of brutal aggression in which, as is said, parts of the Yugoslav People's Army take part along with terrorist organizations. In this connection, the government concluded the following:

1. General Blagoje Adzic, as a commander of the Yugoslav People's Army, and Generals Milutin Kukanjac and Pavle Strugar, as commanders of army districts that cover the territory of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, are, among others, directly responsible for the cruel killings of Bosnia-Hercegovina citizens, and one should particularly point to the cases in Ravno, Bijeljina, Gorazde, Foca, Sarajevo, Derventa, Bosanski Brod, Mostar, and so on. Their guilt lies in the fact that they are inciting and tolerating the use of the Yugoslav People's Army forces in the aggression and terrorism against the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the cooperation and joint activity with paramilitary organizations.

2. The brutal attack against the citizens of Mostar, which is a horrible example of a crime, represents irrefutable proof of the participation of the Yugoslav People's Army in the aggression and terrorism against the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. This is not the only proof, but its brutality should give a warning and alert the entire world.

3. The Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina resolutely demands that the government of Serbia and Montenegro and the citizens of these states should order and effect the withdrawal of all citizens of Serbia and Montenegro who are taking part in the organized aggression and terrorism against the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

4. The government also pays tribute to the defenders of the republic and once again calls on all citizens to unite within the Territorial Defense under the united command of the Republican Headquarters in the struggle against aggression and terrorism.

5. The government again calls on all individuals and groups to join the unified system of defense of the republic and to make impossible all forms of paramilitary organization and activity.

6. The government also calls on all responsible elements of the international public to decisively condemn and prevent the continuation of aggression and terrorism and to give all kinds of help in defending the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

7. The government will soon publicize the proof of an outside aggression against the republic, along with the names of individuals and organizations involved in the acts of aggression and terrorism. Namely, most terrorist organizations that are now active against the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina have their seats and commands outside our republic. The commanders of the parts of the Yugoslav People's Army that are acting on this territory have generally not been born in Bosnia-Hercegovina and are carrying out their commanding activity from places outside the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Federal Jets Fire on Gorazde

AU2904114892 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1127 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] [Studio announcer] We have just [words indistinct] Republican Headquarters of the Territorial Defense [passage indistinct]

[Unidentified speaker] ...confirmed report that at 1300 [1100 GMT] a couple of MiGs flew over Gorazde [words indistinct] and fired rockets [rakete] that exploded some 50-100 meters above the ground. A yellow powder fell out of them. Two other MiGs in the second sortie [words indistinct].

We are probably talking about [word indistinct] poison. They are spreading first one component, then the second. These two make up a chemical agent. The report has been confirmed [words indistinct]. We are warning the citizens of Gorazde, [name indistinct] Foca and Visegrad to protect themselves with masks [words indistinct] and pieces of cloth, and to stay in shelters.

Mostar Declares Federal Army Enemy

LD3004035892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1849 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] Mostar, 29 Apr (TANJUG)—The Mostar municipality crisis headquarters adopted a decision today whereby the Yugoslav Peoples' Army is defined as "an enemy and occupying force in the area of this municipality."

This same decision says Mostar's protection and defense is entrusted to the Croatian Defense Council-Mostar municipal headquarters and to Mostar municipality internal affairs ministry members. This decision states the Croatian Defense Council includes Croatians and Muslims, as well as members of other nations and nationalities, who have demonstrated their loyalty to Bosnia- Hercegovina's authorities. This decision goes on to state that Muslims may organize their own armed formations but that they will be placed under the joint command of the Croatian Defense Council-Mostar municipal headquarters.

Heavy Overnight Shelling of Sarajevo

LD3004085492 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 30 Apr 92

[Slavko Rako report from Sarajevo]

[Excerpt] According to a preliminary report by the Sarajevo security service center, one person was killed and several wounded in an artillery attack on Sarajevo—the heaviest since the beginning of the war—which continued from 2000 yesterday until 0200 this morning. Precise reports about material damage are not yet available, but it is believed that the extent of the damage is high due to the fact that fires were raging in several locations in the city and that firefighters could not intervene because of heavy artillery fire.

A part of the city on the left bank of the river Miljacka is without electricity as a result of damage to a major power line. Only 50 percent of trolleycar lines are in operation because of problems with electricity supplies.

The attack by Serb terrorists and the Yugo-army on Sarajevo is seen as part of a scenario to destroy the city, as indicated by reports coming from the city's railway and coach stations. The so- called Serb Internal Affairs Ministry in Ilijas has banned all rail traffic between Ilijas and Podlugovi, thus halting traffic in all directions. Bus services are also banned along the same route, and the only road traffic allowed is in the direction of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

Zadar, Biograd Hit by Artillery

LD3004064392 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0500 GMT 30 Apr 92

[Report by Zadar correspondent Bozidar Klaric]

[Excerpt] Zadar and Biograd residents experienced their hardest night since the Sarajevo truce was signed. Between late afternoon on 29 April and 0200 this morning, the Serbian Army's artillery fiercely pounded Croatian Army positions along the entire Zadar front line, from [word indistinct] in the northwest, to Stankovci in the southeast. Zadar and Biograd came under the heaviest shelling. An immense number of shells was fired from guns, multiple rocket launchers, and howitzers. All Zadar districts were targeted; not even its cultural and historic heart, the peninsula city, was spared. Many buildings were hit, so the damage must be enormous. A total of 14 people sustained injuries, including four seriously injured. [passage omitted]

10 Killed During Bridge Explosion

AU3004105892 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 30 Apr 92

[Correspondent's report from Brcko]

[Excerpt] After this morning's destruction of both bridges across the River Sava the situation in Brcko is peaceful at the moment. Residents are coming out into the streets and clearing broken glass, most of which is in the very center of the town. Windows and glass were broken in the buildings of Sipad furniture store, department store, (?Velma), hotel, and most other buildings in the town center.

The most tragic outcome of this morning's explosion can be seen at the remaining part of the bridge along the (?Srdjan) bank. Along the entire 150 meter strip there is a horrible scene of parts of human bodies scattered around by the force of the explosion. At this moment nobody knows the exact number of dead, but it is estimated that there are more than 10. This is also implied by reports that the employees of Brcko [word indistinct] were crossing from the (?Gunja side) at the moment of explosion as well as the people who [passage indistinct]. It was a lucky coincidence that nobody was present in the building at the moment of explosion. During previous nights many refugees who were waiting for dawn and the opening of the bridge stayed there. [passage indistinct]. All this has provoked extreme anxiety in the town. Residents of the [word indistinct] settlement have erected barricades on the (?road) and, as

we have learned, captured some soldiers. However, we have also learned that in the meantime the soldiers have been released. An urgent session of the Council for National Defense is expected to take place in the commune of [word indistinct] in order to bring down the tensions among the residents. At the moment it is really necessary that reason prevails and that no isolated incident provokes even more tragic consequences.[passage omitted]

'Armed Unit' Said Readying Radio, TV Takeover

AU2904210592 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] The Collegium of Directors of the Public Enterprise of Sarajevo Radio and Television today addressed the following letter to the Presidency, Government, and Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina:

According to a report sent by our crew of the Vlasic transmitter station near Travnik, today, on 29 April at 1250 [1050 GMT], an armed unit aided by the Yugoslav People's Army, surrounded the area of the Vlasic transmitter station. The unit has entrenched itself and is probably preparing to attack and take over the Vlasic transmitter station.

Sarajevo Radio and Television is a radio broadcasting organization and is incapable of opposing by itself an armed force that has been usurping the facilities of the Sarajevo Radio and Television according to an already seen scenario and with the support of the Yugoslav People's Army. At the usurped facilities of the Public Enterprise of Sarajevo Radio and Television—Kozara, Licka Pljesevica, Majevica, and Velez—the transmitters of the Sarajevo Radio and Television are being used to transmit the programs of Serbian Television.

The Sarajevo Radio and Television is also using this occasion to appeal to responsible state organs to protect workers, equipment, facilities, and programs of the Public Enterprise of the Sarajevo Radio and Television.

Transmitters Reportedly Repositioned

AU3004165692 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 30 Apr 92

[Text] In our yesterday's Dnevnik newscast, in our report devoted to the repositioning of the transmitters of the Sarajevo Radio and Television with a view to carrying the programs of other radio and television centers, it was said that this is being done by use of force and generally to [word indistinct] programs of the Belgrade or Zagreb Television. When we checked this out with the officials of the Sarajevo Radio and Television department for transmitting and broadcasting programs, we were told that all that is involved is repositioning the transmitters with a view to broadcasting Belgrade Radio and Television and the Montenegrin Radio and Television, but not Zagreb Radio and Television.

However, the status of our transmitters located on the territory of western Hercegovina has not been known for a long time, for instance in Duvno, Livno, (?Posusje), Grude, and Capljina. By the way, Croatian Television programs can be seen very well in the territory of western Hercegovina, so there is no need to reposition transmitters. People in the service for transmitting and broadcasting programs of the Sarajevo Radio and Television point out that they also do not know anything about the situation at the moment with transmitters in the regions of Glamoc and Bosansko Grahovo, nor in the region of eastern Bosnia-Hercegovina. Regarding the transmitter of Trovrh, it was repositioned by paramilitary formations and since 2000 [1800 GMT] last night has been transmitting Belgrade Television first and second channels. The Sarajevo Radio FM program was broadcast normally last night until 0800 this morning when it was interrupted. Since 1200, Sarajevo Radio program has been broadcast normally on FM.

Foreign Minister Leaves for Visit to Austria

LD2904081492 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] Croatian Foreign Minister Zvonimir Separavovic has left Zagreb for an official visit to Austria at the invitation of Austrian Federal Foreign Affairs Minister Alois Mock. During his two-day visit, Separovic is expected to visit Zeljezno [Eisenstadt] and have meetings with representatives of Burgenland Croats. A memorandum is being drawn up providing for cooperation with the two countries.

At the end of his visit Minister Separovic will be received by President of the Republic of Austria Kurt Waldheim.

Cease-Fire Reportedly Violated Near Mirkovci

AU2904165492 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Mirko Stankovic report]

[Text] After a seven-day lull, the Croatian side violated the truce in the Danube-Vuka-Sava sector last night. From 2030 to 2145, Ustasha mortars were fired at positions of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] and Territorial Defense, so that six mortar bombs were fired at Ceric and two at [name indistinct] not far from Mirkovci. There were no losses on the side of the JNA and the Territorial Defense, and damage is slight. Representatives of the EC peace mission immediately intervened on the hot line and the shooting stopped.

According to a prior agreement between the commanders of the two warring sides, and under the supervision of the EC peace mission, between 1000 and 1400 today, on the area between Ceric and Nustar the ground was [word indistinct] on which the UNPROFOR will take control of the truce.

UN Forces Seen 'Victim' of Serbian 'Manipulation'

AU3004082892 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 22 Apr 92 p 5

[Zeljko Luburovic commentary: "Croatia's Move"]

[Text] If state politics were guided by outbursts of emotion, like ordinary mortals are, there is no doubt that Croatia would now be swearing and cursing at the United Nations and its peacekeepers in Croatia. Particularly since the blood-soaked, demolished, massacred, and exiled Croatia had been awaiting the arrival of the blue helmets with almost pious expectations because they were, it had been claimed, to be a guarantee for peace and a safe return of Croats to their homes.

The latest news from the occupied parts of Croatia defy belief and call into question the very purpose of the UNPROFOR. At the moment, one should not be absolutely adamant in one's accusations against the members of the UNPROFOR; however, reports have yet to be denied that in Dalj the UN forces asked the displaced people if they wanted to leave, and the Serbs, who had been moved into other people's homes, if they wanted to stay, while doing nothing to stop the eviction of Croats and secure their safety in those areas. These reports are alarming enough to raise a few questions, if nothing else.

First of all, if we start from the assumption that the members of the UNPROFOR represent the most incorruptible and the most honorable part of the military profession, we can ask ourselves what exactly were they told to do in the UNPA [expansion not given]? If they had been told, as the Dalj case suggests, that they were to be nothing but observers, or pollsters, then we should ask if there is any sense in having them in Croatia. Particularly since there have been constant reassurances from East River [UN headquarters] that the task of the UNPROFOR was to help return peace to occupied Croatia and normalize (some would say Croatize) life in the occupied areas until the completion of political negotiations. The political negotiations, which are continued in Brussels despite the fact that Croatia has been internationally recognized, point to one thing alone—the text of Vance's plan has to be fundamentally specified and detailed because, written as it is, and enacted as such, it only contributes to the general confusion and stands in the way of a quick solution to the problem. Vance's plan, as it stands, enables the Serbian side to abuse all agreements and behave as if the UNPROFOR forces were there not only to maintain a status quo, but even to legalize Greater Serbia. East River should realize that there is absolutely no way that can be allowed to happen.

Until all this has been made clear—and we should say that the UNPROFOR units, by allowing themselves to fall victim to Byzantine-like manipulation, are not helping to remove doubts—it will be impossible to talk about the meaningfulness of the real start of the UNPROFOR action. All the more so as it is impossible for an ordinary mortal to understand whether the members of the UNPROFOR are biased or simply innocent victims of Greater Serbian manipulation. On the other hand, as far as diplomacy is concerned, whichever of these two possibilities is true, there are still very few arguments that would contest the fact that, in Dalj, the UNPROFOR units have, if not disgraced, then at least embarrassed themselves. That is exactly why East River, but also General Nambiar, needs Croatia's diplomatic advice. East River and General Nambiar must be made to understand Croatia's concern for the current situation, and at the same time, realize that Croatia does not want to emphasize the international scandal [as published]. There are many arguments to prove that Croatia has been, from the very start, in favor of peace, the return of displaced people to their homes, and political negotiations. Of course, the minimum understanding required from the United Nations concerns the fact that Croatia is not willing to negotiate its territory. Particularly not now, since it has been recognized in its so-called AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] borders.

Further, the UN must have enough understanding of the problem to be able to distinguish between the aggressor and the victim, which would make it considerably easier to define their presence here, meaning not in Yugoslavia, but in Croatia. In that respect, Croatia should not throw blind accusations, as its opponent does. The problem should be based on sound foundations, which implies subtle diplomatic communication that would, without an intention to insult, reveal the hazards of the UN members falling victim to the manipulations of the Greater Serbian establishment, but also warn against their potential bias. Anyway, is it not enough that Marrack Goulding dispatched a letter to the Serbian side, warning them about the abuse of the UN insignia and uniforms by some paramilitary forces in the occupied parts of Croatia? At the same time, concerning the same matter, there is the warning given by Frederick Eckhard, spokesman of the UNPROFOR, and also the banning of the EC observers' presence in so-called Krajina. Croatia is aware of these facts, and now in these hardest of times it has to show dignity and an ability to gain the optimal political advantage from these almost humiliating circumstances. To achieve that, it must not sink into emotional politics, political pathos, and, above all, political arrogance. Reasonable political arguments will open the door of the democratic world to Croatia, and prove to the Croatian community that there is nothing to be gained by patriotism dominated by emotional outbursts. That, however, does not mean that Croatia has to wait like an orphan or a beggar for the mercy of the United Nations. To be reasonable is not the same as to be passive—is it?

War Against Yugoslav Army To Shift to Serbia

92BA0816A Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 9 Apr 92 p 5

[Article by Vlado Rajic: "Return Over the Drina"]

[Text] The war is traveling eastward. The acceleration of the process of disintegration of the former Yugoslav Army, its Serbianization, and the role it has assumed as the key mechanism in carrying out Milosevic's policy (put simply) are directing convoys toward their final destination. Mighty and technically superior, that army not only has been unable to triumph over its various "republic enemies," but has even been unable to convince an immense number of its members of the justifiability of the actions in which it is participating. Chasing insubordinate reservists, forcibly grounding the steel wings of our army because of the shortage of able pilots, and blowing up arms and ammunition dumps because of the shortage of truck drivers, as it left Slovenia and then Croatia it displayed a convulsive intention to settle in the end on the territory and at the expense of Serbia, which today is actually its sole owner.

The Risk of "Eastern Borders"

And that "ownership" threatens a fourth war here. It was announced the moment when the army leaders, failing to abide by the so-called Brioni Agreement, decided to leave Slovenia. It was known even at that time that transporting the equipment and weapons would be the easy part of the job, compared to moving officers' families. The war in Slovenia lasted 10 days and was coordinated from the top federal level. Regardless of who was formally in charge, General Andrija Raseta referred to the top federal level when he informed the Slovenes "that the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] would unconditionally occupy the western borders of Yugoslavia."

At the moment when it defined its war objective ("the western borders"), the army assumed the risk of one day ending up on the "eastern borders," except that it would no longer be "defending" them, but would perceive them as a wall beyond which there was nothing else except "international aggression." Because the "defense" of the southwest failed, because the army was unsuccessful in its intention, but also because it decided in relatively simple fashion to make the move, it was clear that the generals had decided to shorten the front.

Croatia felt the gradual "heating up" of the war machine, but it was also witness to the movement of convoys of soldiers toward B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina] as the operations of the war intensified. As a matter of fact, the army was all the while compressing activity to gain a space from which it could plunder expensive equipment with more or less of an uproar and resettle its officers, inclined to its "ideals." Following the hierarchy from top to bottom, the highest officers and families ended up in more or less decent accommodations in Belgrade, while, say, the families of lower-level officers from Pula traveled together with the armament in the cargo compartment of planes going to one of the garrisons in Serbia.

Milosevic's Warning

That very fact, that the families have been moved to Serbia (by and large), demonstrated the army's caution as to the possible frustration of the plans for conquest. At the same time, Milosevic's own political reductionism has been constantly warning the army of the final possibility: that Serbia would be its way out. And second, the violence in Croatia has been drawn out for eight or nine months now, while the fierce blow in the first two days of the war in B-H condensed many casualties and much destruction in the first, proportionately brief, 48 hours.

However, from Slovenia to Croatia, and continuing on to B-H, the army has also witnessed greatly altered international circumstances. The Slovenian war, conceived as an incident, was turned into a violent provocation of an ethnic conflict in Croatia, and in Bosnia became classic hysteria. It was possible to withdraw from Slovenia, indeed even from Croatia. But where to withdraw from B-H? The crazed expenditure of ammunition on the remaining Croatian battlefields, the insanity of the actions undertaken in Bosnia, are actually preparation for the final act: the army's confrontation with Serbia.

In the leader's courtyard, just a few months ago, the accusation was made against members of Draskovic's SPO [Serbian Renewal Movement], who allegedly were responding to the calls for mobilization, reporting to get their weapons and equipment, and then deserting, preparing themselves, again reportedly, for a showdown within Serbia. How much truth there was in all of that it is difficult to say, but the fact remains that on the eve of 9 March and the anniversary of the confrontation between the Serbs and the army in the streets of Belgrade there was a gamble based on a test of nerve. Because that ended in a stalemate, it was clear even at the beginning of March that nothing would happen on the day of the announced opposition demonstrations. Why? Because the key problem had not been solved yet—which side, within the range of Serbian political options, the majority of the officers of the former JNA would take. That is, what has all the while been imposed as the "remainder of Yugoslavia" as the key criteria for balancing the political scales will very soon be used as a counterweight only on the scale of the motherland and fatherland.

The Last Attempt

As a matter of fact, the third war, the one in B-H, is the last attempt to solve with tanks the issue of the future appearance and size of the longed-for "third Yugoslavia." The American decision to recognize B-H will probably transform the Bosnian war into chaos, but it will not last, because the army, following the method it has demonstrated so far of "devastate—destroy as much as possible—withdraw," is reaching the shores of the Drina. And on the other side is Serbia.

Individuals in the Serbian intellectual circle have been announcing a collision between the desperate and now literally hungry Serbian public and military convoys. The other day, Stojan Cerovic spoke about that "encounter" in the weekly VREME and Dr. Dragan Veselinov in one of his stinging political statements. Both of them have been more or less explicitly announcing a war within Serbia as the last valve of populist antibureaucratism, which has brought the situation in the east to the point of explosion.

Following the lukewarm 9 March, it turned out that things are not smooth either in relations between the Serbian government and the top army leadership or within either of these two sides of what until yesterday was a coalition. The international showers have taken away from Milosevic and Adzic two key arguments they have used up to now in mobilizing their subordinates, the right to so-called protection of the Serbian interest and the right to "defense of Yugoslavia." The army, an army without a state, and Milosevic, a Serb surrounded by millions of dissatisfied Serbs, remain in a fourth war all by themselves, reducing the accounts to the evil which they have committed.

The nervousness recorded even earlier in the ranks of the Yugoarmy in its aggression against Croatia partially explains the crazed nature of the military operations in B-H. It is clear, and this is confirmed by the statement of a colonel in the French segment of the UNPROFOR [UN Protective Force] stationed in "Krajina," that the army is withdrawing pell-mell, that haste was noted even at Plitvice, and that the attacks in the theater of eastern Slavonia are in part to cover the withdrawal. On the hostile side of the Croatian front, showdowns within the army and between the army and the Chetniks are becoming increasingly frequent, storage dumps and equipment which cannot be carried are being blown up.

Inevitable Ruin

Regardless of all that is happening at the moment in B-H, regardless of the number of casualties being cut down, the ruin of the army in Serbia is certain. And also that the "Serbs who have fled" from Croatia, the Chetnik formations recruited in Serbian prisons and in the underground of the big city, the leaders of the "Serbian uprising" in Croatia and B-H, plus the disappointed officers of the Yugoarmy without Yugoslavia and the people, plus, finally, the citizens of Serbia, must go to a settlement of accounts for the thoughtlessly promised "expanded Serbia" exactly where that promise was made to them.

Even regardless of the populist platform of the conflict that follows in the fourth war, it would have to occur in Serbia. In the remnants of the subordinated system of the army, it takes only one more question from a corporal for the military machine to be turned directly against the leader. The army knows that once "expanded Serbia" has failed for good, not a single item of the promised program of a "third Yugoslavia" will be realized. In banal terms, just yesterday a deputy in the Serbian National Assembly rejected the possibility of any speculation about the sale of housing to military personnel. "Why, man, should we sell housing to any army that has lost the war?"

Given that level of banality, conflict is inevitable. After all, as it always is when political balloons burst, and especially when at the same time there have been numerous physical casualties, there remain the survivors with their demands for survival. Serbia with the army crowd that is rolling toward it and with the crowd of its own disaffected must go through hell, which up to now has been provisionally and artificially moved to Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia. The lie with which that fact has up to now been concealed is nevertheless being put in for collection.

Strains Seen in Governing Coalition

AU2304150792 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 14 Apr 92 p 5

[Report by Vlado Rajic: "End of Government of Democratic Unity?"]

[Text] Is it possible that the first breath of peace has blown away the democratic unity of the Croatian parties

embodied in the government led by Dr. Franjo Greguric? What has been whispered for several months now in the Gornji Grad [downtown], President Tudjman has called "the end of corruption in government;" Premier Greguric has not replied to earlier criticism on the ministerial structure of his cabinet, and there have been rumors that confirm what was called, just a few days ago, "the dangerous destruction of the Croatian defense order." The government is changing, no doubt about it.

It is difficult to find in earlier statements the exact moment that marked the beginning of the end of the mandate of the government of democratic unity. Was it during last autumn's rumblings, when the president of the republic himself was "wrapped up" in the government's package? Was it the moment when Minister Vekic's mandate was placed into doubt? Or was it the statement made by the prime minister about certain people in his cabinet, following which Greguric failed to set everything straight, although he was later prompted to do so by statements made by certain people he had criticized? Anyway, it does not matter. The fact that the government would have to be reconstructed was clear after the resignation of Dr. Vlado Veselica owing to the other parties' confrontation with the Croatian Democratic Party, a confrontation brought about by its split with Tudjman in the "old history" of the Croatian multiparty system.

Domljan on Opposition

Then came the important resignation of Drazen Budisa, which put the nine-party coalition into serious jeopardy. Now, in a television program, Dr. Zarko Domljan, representing what is left of the opposition in Greguric's team, can say that "there are no opposition parties in parliament, since they have all found their place in the government."

That is actually the end of the story. The government, which was formed at the very beginning of the war, was a symbol of the will with which Croatia was ready to defend its integrity against the powerful Yugo-army horde. That same government has found itself severely criticized, following recognition and the deployment of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], and is now ready to go. At the cost of all the trouble caused to people abroad, who are unused to, and displeased by, the breaking of established personal relations with certain ministers. The pressure on the government was particularly strong during the latest session of parliament. The criticism expressed by Minister Pavletic and his education ministry is a mere reflection of barroom rumors.

The pejorative meaning of these barroom rumors was taken away by the parliament's platform, from which a clear message was given to the effect that the government should really consist exclusively of members of the Croatian Democratic Community. The performance of Dr. Sime Djodan, apart from his speech on textbooks, was indicative. The attack on the National Bank of Croatia, and its resistance to issuing currency, was also an attack on the whole strategy of Greguric's team toward the management concept. Actually, it brought to light the strategic conflict that had started in the "old days" of Mesic's and Manolic's rule. Premier Greguric himself raised the question of the survival of Minister for Management and Justice Bosiljko Misetic; the position of Minister of Police Vekic has been in question from the start; and the awkward statement by the vice premier, Granic, has "bitten into" the position of Minister of Foreign Affairs Separovic. Minister for Labor Jurlin has been severely criticized from all sides, and there is no confidence in the competence of Minister for Reconstruction Degoricija. And if one adds to all this the transfer of Minister Baletic, it becomes clear that Premier Greguric is "condemned" to having a very narrow circle of unblemished ministers and to leading a government that can no longer resist attacks from various sides.

Preparations for Elections

The political moment—marked by a statement of Tudjman's that elections would be announced "as soon as the war is over," has a lot to do with what is now happening with the government's mandate. It is obvious that the very announcement of elections means that all the parties will begin preparing for them. In order to make this election "prologue" effective, it is necessary to tie to one's own starting position as many state factors of Croatia as possible. But party rivalries have pushed aside the two platforms on which the elections are meant to be conducted. The first one concerns management in the current, extremely hard, economic circumstances. Free markets, competition, regulations conducive to a modern economy, privatization, and denationalization are not popular, to judge by the parliamentary discussions. So if the government supports these very objectives, it will be in direct conflict with parliament, in which there are deputies of the Croatian Democratic Community. The second platform is exclusively an electoral one. Greguric's government has, it appears, completed its job. It has survived the worst of the war on Croatian territory; the insecurity of a young state on the international stage. It has managed to cope with thousands of displaced people. It has achieved recognition for Croatia, managed to get the blue helmets in, and pacified most of the crisis areas. It has also accepted European ideas of how a state should function. Everything it has achieved, not alone of course, is now being shifted into the hands of the ruling party and the prevailing political criteria where there is no room for anything but party oriented ministerial appointments.

What Greguric benevolently calls "reconstruction," seen in the similarities between these two platforms, or rather in their overlapping, is actually a fundamental reshuffling of ministerial seats, with all the political effects such a move has on the state and not on any particular party.

Arkan's Life, Crimes, Prison Release Viewed

92BA0815A Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian
12 Apr 92 p 13

[Article by Salih Zvizdic: "Anatomy of the 'Arkan Case'"—first paragraph is VJESNIK introduction]

[Text] Even almost a year after the conviction of Zeljko Raznatovic Arkan, who is heading Cetnik operations in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, the public is not ceasing to ask questions about whether Judge Vladimir Vinja was pressured to release Raznatovic from jail.

On 13 January 1992, Montenegro's POBJEDA published an interview with Zeljko Raznatovic-Arkan, in which that "hero of Serbia and Montenegro" openly extols the Serbian Volunteer Guard, founded, as he claims, on 11 October 1991. Arkan justifies that paramilitary formation's terrible crimes against Croats, Muslims, and even "disloyal Serbs" and others in Cetnik operations throughout Croatia and now in Bosnia-Hercegovina as "defense of the Serbian faith and mother Serbia."

His statement during the Cetnik attack against Vukovar, which also carried by numerous world agencies, is "famous": "My Guard is not capturing any Ustasa and Black Legion soldiers," which means that it is killing them, and slaughtering them "on the spot."

Arkan on Himself

Zeljko Raznatovic was convicted on 14 June 1991 by Judge Vladimir Vinja, as president of the Council (with two jurors) of the Zagreb District Court, to a year and eight months in prison. Immediately afterward, the judge released Arkan and another three people convicted along with him, pending appeal, and on the same day, after they were met in front of the court by a throng of friends from Belgrade, they left for their homes.

After he and his Cetniks moved into Bosnia-Hercegovina, where they committed numerous crimes in Bijeljina, Arkan suddenly returned to Belgrade, where he owns two commercial firms, a pastry shop, and a house on Dedinje. As a media star of the Belgrade, and generally the Serbian, press, radio, and television, whose only competitor at one time was "Captain Dragan," who resembled him, Arkan is now saying that "he does not have anything to do with war, and wants to live in peace with his children and wife." While he is resting, his "tigers" are killing the Muslim population, mostly women and children, in Zvornik and the neighboring villages. As far as the cooperation between the JA [Yugoslav Army] and the Serbian Volunteer Guard is concerned, Arkan claims that that cooperation does not exist, but immediately afterward he says, "We are currently under the command of the Territorial Defense of the SAO [Serbian Autonomous Region] of Slavonija, Baranje, and western Srem, and they are under the command of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army]."

Arrest in Dvor na Uni

A great deal was written at one time about the arrest of Arkan and company, and so we will briefly remind our readers of it. The trial of Dusan Bandic (born in 1928), a retiree and Cetnik commander from Belgrade, Zoran Stevanovic (1961), a construction technician from Belgrade, Dusan Caric (1952), an electrician from Uncan near Dvor na Uni, and also a fourth defendant, Belgrade resident Zeljko Raznatovic-Arkan (born in 1952 in Brezice, Slovenia) began before the Zagreb court on 29 April 1991, and lasted with interruptions until 14 June 1991.

Bandic, Stevanovic, and Raznatovic arrived in Knin on 28 November 1990 together from Belgrade, and Dusan Caric from Dvor na Uni, for a meeting of the "council of war" of the Knin uprising. The meeting, held in a shack in the village of Golubic, was attended by Mile Martic, then the "secretary of the SUP [Secretariat for Internal Affairs] of the Krajina SAO," Marko Dobrijevic, then the secretary of the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party], and Nebojsa-Neso Mladinic and Dusan Orlovic, as active organizers of the uprising in the Knin Krajina. There was a discussion of how Belgrade would help in organizing and arming the rebels, and very specific assignments were given to individuals.

In short, this was a very important meeting regarding the preparations for the armed uprising in part of Croatia with the support of the "JNA." All four of the defendants were armed to the teeth with automatic weapons, pistols, and bombs. The Belgrade part of the team was brought by Arkan in his Mitsubishi Payero automobile.

On the way back, all four of them, in the same car, which was driven by Arkan, turned into Dvor na Uni after midnight on 29 November, so that under the leadership of Caric, as a resident, they could familiarize themselves with the location of the police station in Dvor na Uni and the places where barricades should be set up, in order to "liberate the Dvor na Uni region." While they were driving the car with its lights on low through Dvor na Uni and around the police station, the policemen noticed them, and about 0230 surrounded the car and captured it.

At that time a considerable amount of weapons and ammunition was captured, and it was determined that Zoran Stevanovic also had false identification in the name of Vasilije Stojkovic. As an interesting detail of the court discussion, we recall that "commander" Bandic, who did not have his weapon ready to fire, having seen that the policemen were surrounding them, ordered the others: "Fire!", as they all stated during the investigative proceedings. They did not fire, only because it would not have yielded any results. Later during the trial, Bandic, prompted by his attorney, started to claim that he had not said, "Fire!", but rather "Turn it on!", allegedly thinking of the car's engine (even though the engine was on). For days the attorneys insisted on that obvious lie, but drove both the court and the prosecutor crazy.

"Notoriety" Fell From the Sky

After the discussion, which lasted for 42 days, with interruptions, the court sentenced Bandic to three years in prison and Caric to two, while Stevanovic was sentenced to 14 months in prison, and Raznatovic to 20. In the sentence, on the 54 densely typed pages with which Judge Vladimir Vinja explained the sentence, he also cited among other things "mitigating circumstances" for each defendant. The main one for the first three was that they had "not been previously convicted." In the explanation of the "mitigating circumstances," the most attention was devoted to Zeljko Raznatovic Arkan, regarding whom Judge Vinja stated that he was a "controversial figure, who has aroused the greatest public interest."

It is further stated: "...Part of that increased interest in this defendant (Arkan—editor's note), of course, has to be attributed to the fact that he is accompanied by the notoriety of a person with, to say the least, a stormy past. That notoriety is the result of articles in the press, where this defendant has been associated with the most diverse possible criminal activities, both in Yugoslavia and abroad."

The judge then states that the court is aware, from the records submitted, that as early as age 14, in 1966, Arkan was sentenced in Belgrade to reform school for theft, and three years later, in 1969, also in Belgrade, he was sentenced to three years in prison as a minor. The judge was also officially aware that Arkan was also convicted of theft in 1972, and of the crime of serious bodily injury in 1986. That much was known about Arkan by Judge Vladimir Vinja. The rest is "notoriety."

"It is not known to the court whether this defendant has also been involved in any other criminal activities, regardless of whether they were on the territory of the SFRY or abroad," Vinja claimed. Admittedly, he mentioned that this was not necessarily untrue, but he asserted that the court had to be informed of this "by the public prosecutor, or someone else," and thus, since the authorities had neglected to do so, the court could not take it into account to Arkan's detriment. Otherwise, Arkan is "a merchant, a family man, who is supporting four small children," which was probably supposed to be a mitigating circumstance for him.

Judge Vinja could have been better informed about Arkan's crimes abroad, even from the articles about Arkan that were published not only by the Zagreb press, but also earlier ("before the uprising of the Serbs"), and even more by the Belgrade press. Although it is the prosecutor's obligation to be more concerned with this, it is also a judge's right to make use of all the relevant facts in favor of or against defendants.

Arkan's Robberies Throughout Europe

Arkan was born in Brezice, because his father, who was from Rijeka Crnojevica in Montenegro, was serving there as an officer in the JNA's air force regiment. That is why Arkan is constantly emphasizing that he "is proud of his Montenegrin origin."

After his family moved to Belgrade, Arkan set out early on the path of juvenile delinquency, and thus as a child he was constantly in trouble with the police, in spite of his father's interventions. Afterward, when he grew up, he escaped from the Belgrade jail and ended up abroad. There he organized groups for thefts and robberies, where he himself, or at the head of a group, committed dozens of serious crimes in Italy, Sweden, Belgium, and Germany. In 1975 he was sentenced for 18 thefts to 10 years in prison, but he only served four. Then in 1979, for robbing a jewelry store in Amsterdam, he was sentenced in Belgium to seven years in prison, but he managed to escape, by threatening the prison guards with a weapon.

The serious crimes of Arkan and his group include the break-in at Goldzentrum in Frankfurt, when the owner of the jewelry store was killed, and the robbers seized gold and jewels valued at 200,000 German marks. In a struggle with the police who arrived on the scene, Arkan then received a serious concussion, and was thus taken to the university clinic in Frankfurt, from which he escaped on 9 June 1980, after five days. In 1983, in Phorzheim (Germany), along with the group of Kolev, Rubezic, Djordjevic, and Pantovic (the "Belgrade connection"), he participated in robberies of jewelry stores, in which they seized loot valued at 1.2 million German marks, and kidnapped three people as hostages against the police. Back in 1985 Interpol informed the "Federal SUP" in Belgrade about all this, and also about several other crimes committed by Arkan and his group throughout Europe, and requested Arkan's extradition. Interpol's request is still there.

As the Belgrade press claims, Arkan cooperated closely with the federal UDB [State Security Administration], on whose orders he carried out various nefarious affairs, and in return was protected in Yugoslavia. The German press has published information according to which Arkan organized on behalf of the UDB, and according to some newspapers even participated personally in, the murder of Stjepan Djurekovic, the former director of INA [Petroleum Refining and Sales Enterprise], who was killed in front of his house in the vicinity of Munich.

During the entire trial, Judge Vladimir Vinja was subjected to real salvos from the defendants' attorneys.

Arkan was defended by Silvije Degen, an attorney from Zagreb, and by the skilled Belgrade attorneys Srdja Popovic, Senad Redzepagic, and Milan Vujin.

In order to make the trial take a different course, the attorneys imposed upon the court a number of issues of a legal nature, such as the forms of application of the law, constitutional-law legal regulations, and the institutional relationship of the investigation and the accusation. One of the fundamental issues was the legal qualification of part of the indictment.

The court was in the position of a legal institution that tries to place things within the real framework of the existing situation in the state, while the defense forced upon it the illusion of the former state, whose legal and all other powers had abruptly vanished on Croatia's soil. It seems that the judge, who was discouraged by the strong defense attacks, was seeking a compromise, and thus it is in this context that one should view both the sentence and what happened after that.

Shocking Decision by Judge Vinja

Judge Vinja, after issuing a sentence of imprisonment, which included the six months and 15 days that the defendants had spent in investigative detention, made a decision that shocked all those present in the courtroom: the defendants were released pending appeal of the sentence!

It was clear to everyone who had a reasonable view of the events at that time in Croatia, where the first victims of the Cetnik and Greater Serbian attack against Croatia were already falling, that the defendants would do everything possible to disappear from Croatia as soon as possible. This was probably even clear to Judge Vinja, who later, probably out of a desire to justify his action, was to say that before making that decision he had consulted with the then and present president of the Zagreb District Court, Vojko Madirazza.

Public prosecutor Ante Nobio immediately appealed to the Croatian Supreme Court against the sentences and the decision to revoke detention, and on 4 June 1991, after Raznatovic and his brethren were far out of the reach of the Croatian authorities, it adopted a decision which says, among other things: "...The public prosecutor is right when he emphasizes that there are still general and individual special circumstances associated with the possibility that the course of the proceedings may be obstructed by the flight and concealment of the defendants...."

It is further emphasized that the danger of the defendants' flight "cannot be considered in isolation from the situation in the Croatian Republic and Yugoslavia," and that the defendants, "after they are inaccessible to the state authorities of the Croatian Republic, will use their freedom to continuing committing these and similar acts." Unfortunately, the Supreme Court said all of this quite well, but a little too late, because Arkan sent a message from Belgrade: "You will never take me alive!"

The fact that the defendants became even more dangerous in the struggle against Croatia after their release from prison is best demonstrated by the case of Arkan, who emphasizes in interviews with journalists that the Croats, if they catch him, "would kill him like a dog," but that he is repaying them for this in advance.

Appeal Is Still Waiting

The defendants' attorneys and the public prosecutor filed an appeal against the District Court's decision to the Supreme Court of the Republic of Croatia. That court, with its former president, Vjekoslav Vidovic, still has not considered that appeal, even though there were several interventions to have this "case," which is still in court, settled.

In any event, last December, as we were informed by Mr. Madirazza, the president of the Zagreb District Court, Judge Vladimir Vinja was enlisted in the Croatian army, where he is still on duty in Zagreb. When we asked Mr. Madirazza to comment on Judge Vinja's sentence and his release of the defendants pending appeal, he was brief: "I do not want to say anything in connection with Judge Vinja and Arkan."

On several occasions, the Croatian press has mentioned the possibility that "someone from the leadership of the Croatian Republic probably put pressure upon Judge Vinja to revoke the detention of Arkan and his gang." A person who wishes to remain anonymous once asked Judge Vinja to comment on those rumors, in response to which the judge answered, "I swear that no one put pressure on me."

This same person asked Vinja to give his statement ("I swear...") to the public, and to deny the rumors, which Vinja promised to do. He has not done so to date, however. That attitude on the part of Vladimir Vinja, as well as the attitude of the Supreme Court, which refuses to consider and decide on the appeal by the attorneys and the prosecutor, offers the possibility of various insinuations at the expense of certain people in the Croatian leadership. In particular, all of this casts a shadow upon the independence of the court, whose right to pass sentence independently must not be jeopardized for a single instant.

Minister Threatens To Limit Bosnian Refugees

LD2904173192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1217 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] Ljubljana, 29 Apr (TANJUG)—Slovenia will soon take solid, even discomforting measures to stem the increasing number of refugees entering Slovene territory from Bosnia-Hercegovina, Slovene Interior Affairs Minister Igor Bavcar said today.

In his words, such a decision will be made unless the West opens its borders. According to Bavcar, Austrian and Italian authorities have again postponed a final decision on allowing refugees to enter these two countries until tomorrow.

"Slovenia has stretched itself to its limit in terms of what it can still provide," Bavcar said. "It would be wrong to create the impression among the public that we can still welcome a large number of refugees," he said.

At the moment there are 14,000 refugees from Bosnia-Hercegovina scattered throughout Slovenia. About 7,000 have been accommodated in refugee centers, former facilities of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA). The rest are staying with relatives and friends. Only a few refugee centers are in a passable condition and many do not provide even the most basic necessities.

The Slovene police, however, are thoroughly checking every citizen of Bosnia-Hercegovina crossing the border, demanding that they provide confirmation of their future accommodation in Slovenia. All men from Bosnia-Hercegovina of draft age (18-60) are being denied entry into Slovenia.

Third Draft Privatization Law 'Acceptable'

AU3004081092 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] After the government's proposal for privatization failed, a group of deputies tackled it on the initiative of the Commission for Property Transformation of Companies. The group has compiled a document that is, judging by feedback, acceptable to all parties. The Commission today briefed journalists on the basic principles and main solutions. The news conference was attended by Assembly President Dr. France Bucar, and Emil Milan Pintar and Janko Dezelak, two of the deputies who proposed the law, while Mile Setinc, the third deputy, was not present. Sonja Znidarsic reports:

[Begin Znidarsic recording] Assembly President Dr. France Bucar looked back into the history of property transformation of companies and stressed that Dr. Joze Mencinger was the first to systematically approach this topic and prepare a privatization model. However, some criticized it for introducing predominance of managerial structures over property. As is known, this document never reached the deputies' benches again. It was the government that next tried to crack this nut. However, the proposal drawn up by the government was not much luckier. It earned sharp criticism that it was nationalizing public property with a large spoon and that the state was taking over the property of the economy. On the basis of these criticisms and on the initiative of the Assembly president, a group of deputies then prepared the third draft which is, according to France Bucar, a synthesis of the former proposals and, of course, acceptable suggestions from various debates. Therefore, this is a compromise proposal and a balanced model, which is, as we were told today, being supported with minimal amendments by almost all parties. This is very important and encouraging and gives hope that the property knot will be resolved in the near future.

Emil Milan Pintar, one of the deputies who are proposing the law, said that his basic aim was to secure a more successful development of our economy, and in this way secure resources for its revitalization and the injection of capital [dokapitalizacija]. Nobody will have the majority in the allocation of the shares, that is to say, nobody will have predominance, which is extremely important. According to this model, partners will be given shares in the following percentages: 20 percent would be offered to employees at a discount rate, 20 percent of them would be citizens' shares, 10 percent would be offered to funds, and 40 percent would be offered for sale at their full market price. According to this method, justice would be incorporated at the very beginning of the privatization, because, as Janko Dezelak said, any model that ignores justice is bound to fail sooner or later. There is another thing that is important in this law, namely, that the law makes a distinction between the management of companies and property.

We also learned at the news conference that, if the deputies of all three chambers of the assembly agree, the first and the second phases of the legislative procedure would be merged. Bearing in mind that there are no significant differences in the assessment of the proposed legal solutions for privatization, there is a realistic possibility that this most important system law could be adopted within one month. [end recording]

International Transportation Agreements Signed

92BA0812A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 8 Apr 92 p 3

[Article by Darja Verbic: "Agreements on Highway Transportation With 25 States"—first paragraph is DELO introduction]

[Text] Agreements with Romania, Bulgaria, Turkey, and Greece are still lacking; Croatian trucks only with permits.

Ljubljana, 7 Apr—Slovenia has concluded agreements on international highway transportation with 25 states, but we are still "lacking" Romania, Bulgaria, Turkey, and Greece. As stated at today's press conference by Janko Pirkovic, under secretary in the Ministry of Transportation and Communications, several agreements

have recently been reached with Italy, Spain, the Commonwealth of Independent States, and Croatia.

We had been running short of Italian permits since the end of March, but at a meeting of the Slovene-Italian commission the text of an agreement was coordinated, according to which permits are no longer necessary for transit traffic, and 95,000 bilateral and 4,000 local border permits were exchanged for April, May, and June. This number, with controlled use, will allow carriers to conduct their work normally, as Pirkovic asserted. The text of the agreement on international highway transportation also included a section with which the Italian and Slovene ministries left open the possibility of agreeing on reciprocal elimination of bilateral permits. This should happen at the beginning of next year.

We did not yet have an agreement with Spain on exchanging permits. The number that was agreed upon—1,000 universal permits for this year—is possibly even too high, and our carriers will not use it. In addition to the Spanish permits, Slovene carriers will receive universal permits for the Commonwealth of Independent States, the Netherlands, and Albania. Traffic to those states is proceeding without interruption, with the payment of highway tolls.

The agreement that Austrian permits will be obtained in Vienna is still in effect. As Janko Pirkovic said, it was agreed at first that this would be the case until the end of April, but now this period has been extended until the end of September. In any case, the Austrian Government and the Austrian Transportation Ministry are insisting on railway shipment of goods—with the use of a train that transports freight containers between Ljubljana and Munich. Environmental protection, in fact, is extremely important to it. That is why it may happen that compliance with this decision of theirs will be verified in Vienna, and a carrier who will be able to prove that he is using the railroad will receive transit permits. Carriers that are harmed by that Austrian decision (since shipping by train costs more than fuel and travel costs for the above-mentioned route) have a reduction once a year, namely when registering a vehicle, since the amount for the registration has been reduced by the portion of foreign exchange earnings within the carrier's total income.

As of Thursday, trucks with Croatian license plates will also be able to enter our state only with permits. An agreement which was based on a protocol, and according to which permits were not needed, expired on 31 March. Of course, the introduction of permits is reciprocal, and trucks will still pay highway taxes. The Slovene and Croatian transportation ministries will make sure that there are enough permits at all the border crossings.

[Box, p 6]

The Slovene Transportation Ministry also sent Serbia a draft agreement on highway transportation, which is based on absolutely the same principles as the agreements with other parts of the former Yugoslavia. There has not been any answer, and our cargoes are still disappearing in Serbia, or else trucks are being turned back, without having done anything.

Assembly Debates Rehabilitation of Banks

92BA0812B Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
8 Apr 92 p 3

[Article by Gordana Pipan: "Rehabilitation of Banks in the Assembly"—first paragraph is DELO introduction]

[Text] The credit-monetary committee met behind closed doors; quasi-banking institutions will have to have the same mandatory reserves as commercial banks.

Ljubljana, 7 Apr—Today, behind closed doors, the credit-monetary committee discussed the program for the restructuring and financial rehabilitation of banks and savings banks, which was prepared by the Agency for the Financial Rehabilitation of Banks. This program, in fact, is a state secret. Even before this, the members of the committee (by the way, there were not enough for a quorum) discussed the central bank's monetary policy.

Since 1 April, the banks have had a revised amount of mandatory reserves. The bank's council specified by decree that for funds available on demand up to 30 days, banks have to set aside 12.5 percent for the mandatory reserves; for term deposits for more than a month, 3 percent; and for term deposits for more than a year, 0.5 percent. Consequently, banks will now have to allocate for their mandatory reserves fewer funds from term deposits, and more from the deposits available on demand. As stated by Dr. France Arhar, the governor of the Bank of Slovenia [BS], by doing this they wanted to achieve better management of money. The BS, in fact, was criticized by banks for requiring excessively high mandatory reserves for deposited funds. They were also very high in comparison with mandatory reserves in other countries.

In any case, the central bank proposed to the association of banks that the banks reach a new interest agreement within the association. The association, however, thought that such an agreement was impossible, since the banks do not have the same starting position, and on the other hand, they are also facing competition from quasi-banking institutions, such as savings banks, internal banks, and similar establishments. These are completely without control by the central bank, since they do not require mandatory reserves. The banks proposed to the central bank that they should not have to set aside mandatory reserves for housing loans. Specialized housing savings banks in several other countries do not need these reserves either, but according to Arhar, such specialized savings banks do not exist in Slovenia.

The fate of the banks awaits all the quasi-banking institutions on 1 July. This means that they will have to have the same mandatory reserves as the commercial banks. The association of savings banks has therefore sent a protest to the committee, as well as to the

Assembly. Today, however, the members of the committee supported equal treatment for everyone engaging in banking transactions. The central bank will thus be able to exercise better control over the Slovene monetary world, and also prevent unfair competition in it.

Governor Arhar also briefed the committee members on the central bank's monetary policy. It is still a restrictive one. Money from the primary issue thus only comes into circulation through the purchase of foreign exchange from banks. The entire banking system currently has about $550 million in foreign exchange reserves, of which $210 million is at the BS. Arhar also said that there was growing interest in the BS's treasury notes, which now represent 40 million marks of the BS's foreign exchange reserves.

The exchange rate cannot alleviate enterprises' losses and poor organization, the governor thought. He emphasized that the indexation of the exchange rate could not be equal to inflation, since adjusting the exchange rate would accelerate inflation even further. The tolar's exchange rate, in fact, grew considerably more slowly than retail prices. The three exchange rates—the BS exchange rate, the exchange offices' rate, and the interbank rate—are already almost identical. In Minister Dusan Sesok's opinion, with incomplete indexation of the exchange rate, the indexation of interest rates should also be incomplete. It is precisely high interest rates, in Sesok's opinion, that are the key element in inflation. Specifically, producers have been forced to incorporate them in their prices. With such a high interest rate, in his opinion, it also will not be possible to carry out the financial rehabilitation of the banks and thus of the entire economy. That is why an agreement among the government, the commercial banks, and the central bank will be necessary. The finance minister also said that the state would have to be more concerned with restricting the new monopolies that arose after the collapse of the Yugoslav state, but additional money would be needed for this. He also said that according to the data of the Institute for Macroeconomic Analyses final consumption, including state consumption, was declining. In his opinion, the prices of certain key products such as oil derivatives, if we do not count seasonal price increases, and even electricity, are lagging behind the general level of prices.

Arhar also said that the BS was preparing reports that would be a sort of statistical bulletin from the BS, and would be available to the public.

[Box, p 3]

At the committee's meeting, Finance Minister Dusan Sesok said, among other things, that we in Slovenia would replace monetary coupons with real tolars at the end of this year, when prices would have stabilized, in his opinion.

International

Jovic Informs Pinheiro, Vance of New Constitution

LD2904160392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1439 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Apr (TANJUG)—Borisav Jovic, member of the SFRY Presidency and chairman of the State Committee for Cooperation with the United Nations, today sent a letter to EC Council of Ministers Chairman Joao de Deus Pinheiro and the UN secretary general's special envoy Cyrus Vance informing them that, with the adoption of a new constitution on 27 April, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] was proclaimed and that, in accordance with this, the SFRY Presidency, which carries out the tasks of the Yugoslav Presidency until this body is constituted, has adopted some decisions and set in motion initiatives regarding the transformation of the Yugoslav People's Army into the Army of the FRY and regarding the settlement of the Army's status in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Stressing that these measures should contribute toward the creation of conditions for a peaceful resolution of the Yugoslav crisis, specifically for the establishment of peace and consolidation of the situation in the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Jovic—as the SFRY Presidency said—underlined once more the firm orientation toward a successful outcome of the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina in Lisbon.

Russian Envoy Comments on Relations

LD3004125492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1154 GMT 30 Apr 92

[Text] Belgrade, April 30 (TANJUG)—Russia "in principle has a positive stand regarding the creation of a new Yugoslav state," Russian Ambassador to Yugoslavia Gennadiy Shikin said in an interview published by today's Belgrade daily BORBA. Serbia and Montenegro, the only two republics which brought their statehood into former Yugoslavia, on Monday proclaimed the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia which aims to ensure the international and legal continuity of former Yugoslavia.

In an interview to BORBA, Shikin said that Russia's relations with the new state will be based on its traditional friendship with Serbia and Montenegro. On the official recognition of new Yugoslavia, Shikin said that the Russian Embassy on Tuesday received a note from the Federal Foreign Ministry. The note "will be discussed on Moscow, where a decision will be made," Shikin said.

Macedonia

7 Border Crossings Set Up With FRY

LD3004141192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1001 GMT 30 Apr 92

[Excerpt] Skopje, 30 Apr (TANJUG)—In the past few days Macedonia has set up seven border crossings with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia along the former administrative border with Serbia. Five of the seven crossings will be international and two interstate [medjudrzavni] crossings.

In line with a Macedonian Government decision, the following are international crossings: near the village of Tabanovce on the Kumanovo-Presevo motorway; the rail station in the village of Tabanovce; the rail station in Vucidol; near the village of Jazince on the Tetovo-Urosevac road; and near the village of Djeneral Jankovic on the (Skopje-Urosevac) road. By a decision of the Macedonian Government, the interstate crossings will be set up on the old Kumanovo-Presevo road and near the village of Pelince on the road between Kumanovo and Prohor Pcinjski monasteary. [passage omitted]

Serbia

Vojvodina Democrats Refuse To Recognize FRY

LD2904215792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1305 GMT 29 Apr 92

[Text] Novi Sad, 29 April (TANJUG)—The League of Vojvodina Social Democrats announced today that they do not recognize the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

In their view, this state has been created by agreement between the ruling regimes of two former Yugoslav republics "by ignoring the will of citizens and violating the most fundamental legal, democratic and moral principles" in the wake of horrible and unnecessary casualties and suffering. This is why the league regards this state as a non-entity, its statement stresses.

Albanian Autonomy in Kosovo Considered

AU2904134092 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Apr 92 p 26

[Report by M. Antic: "Dangerous Game for Maximum Gain"]

[Text] The news that has recently, just after the recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina, arrived from America to the Kosmet [Kosovo and Metohije] Albanians that "it is now Kosovo and Metohija's turn," has added liveliness, but also nervousness to the local political scene. The questions on every Albanians' lips are: what exactly does that short message mean, which option does it imply for Kosovo, and what kind of move does it indicate Albanians should make?

This last question is particularly important, because it is widely considered here that everything depends on it. Heated arguments arise as to whether to continue the peaceful resistance—the so-called civilian way of struggling—or change tactics, and provoke the unrest and chaos of a civil war in Kosovo as well? Both options have a great number of supporters. According to some estimates, it all depends on the decision of the leadership of

the largest Albanian political party—Rugova's Democratic Alliance. They have, so far, been in favor of peaceful resistance, but some of their leading people have been recently saying that "armed resistance to Serbian occupation is not out of the question." That, they stress, may be unavoidable, unless Europe and the rest of the world do not recognize Kosovo as an sovereign and independent republic. This is the most direct way of letting everyone know that the Albanians have an aim from which they will not step back at any cost.

Ten days ago, when a story was launched from certain circles that there was a possibility of recognizing the "Republic of Kosovo," and its association with the Serbian federation, it was flatly rejected by the Albanian political circles as a "political provocation," and a "cuckoo's egg." The other three options fared no better, although they came from outside Yugoslavia, from some international bodies, and foreign politicians.

The Albanian leaders were astonished at the message from the European Parliament that, as far as Kosovo was concerned, everything should be placed within "the context of respecting human rights and freedom." That was interpreted here as the grossest political insult, because, as it was said, "we have told Europe and the world in no uncertain terms that we want a sovereign Albanian state in Kosovo, and not to be merely given some kind of human rights and freedom by anyone, least of all by Serbia."

If the European option was received with astonishment by Albanian leaders, then we can say that the one suggested by Lord Carrington was received, at least publicly, with horror. From what is known of Carrington's plan in Kosmet, Kosovo should be given "a special status", just like the one the Serbian Krajina in Croatia is supposed to get. This was not only rejected by the Albanian leaders, but they directly replied that "the Albanians and Kosovo will never again have anything to do with Serbia." The reply also stated, without any diplomatic niceties, that "Carrington and everybody else should know that Kosovo already is an independent and sovereign republic", and as such sought no options, but international recognition of its status. However, when the German ambassador "worked out" the exact meaning of "a special status", which, according to him, implies "their own (Albanian) legal system, judiciary, administration, and management", the Albanians fell silent. But only for a while. It can already be read in their newspapers that even this is not enough, that the Albanians voted for something else in a referendum.

The latest option for Kosovo and Metohija has been clearly stated to the Albanians themselves by the American ambassador to Yugoslavia, Warren Zimmermann, when he recently told them that there would be no recognition of an independent and sovereign "Republic of Kosovo," but the solution could be found in "maximal autonomy". Although not one Albanian politician has yet replied to Zimmermann, these views stunned the public. The commentators see them as Zimmermann's personal views, and they are hurt, not so much by the "maximal autonomy," which, according to them, nobody has yet found fit to clarify, but more so by the introductory part of the sentence—that there would be no recognition of the republic.

If all the reactions by Albanian leaders to the aforementioned options could be summarized in one, it would be:

No one has the right, not the international bodies and politicians, nor the government and the assembly of the "Republic of Kosovo," and least of all certain leaders, to impose any solution on the Albanians.

Such an inflexible attitude, which has become the main topic of talk in the local political circles, can bring the Albanians nothing good. Behind it is the worst option of them all—war and chaos. And, although they are playing for maximal gain, they are well aware that they should beware Serbia's response to all this. After all, it is Serbia's territory that they are negotiating.

Origin of Arms Confiscated in Kupres Detailed

92BA0823B Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Apr 92 p 7

[Article by Dusan Kecman: "Weapons Reveal the Aggressor"]

[Text] Kupres, 18 Apr—After the rapid and effective liberation of Kupres, newsmen had an occasion to assure themselves once again on the territory of B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina] that the Croatian Armed Forces had carried out aggression, and that certain foreign forces had indirectly, with personnel and weapons, taken part in supporting it.

Over 320 members of the Croatian Armed Forces killed, who have been left forever on the Kupres plateau in their uniforms, had documents that unambiguously confirm that Kupres (was) occupied by members of the 106th and 115th brigades of the ZNG [National Guard Corps] and then by members of the 101st Zagreb Brigade, as well as by armed fighters of the Osijek Brigade and a brigade from Vukovar (more accurately: the "yellow ants" commando groups, specially trained for antiarmor operations on the battlefield).

Although all the positions of the Croatian army on Kupres were precisely, almost pedantically, worked out and prepared (even with the classic backup battle positions), in the assault of members of TO [territorial defense] and the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], in the fight that in the city itself lasted only a few minutes longer than one hour, the armed Croatian forces were literally thrashed. Only after remnants of the Croatian armada were driven out all the way to Suica itself was it established that the Croatian soldiers had in their panicky flight left behind immense quantities of war materiel and various equipment for the army. In addition to medical supplies with labels from various producers, all of them in German, material necessary for first medical

aid and surgical-orthopedic care was also found. The reference is to special metal splints to immobilize those wounded in the legs and arms, splints for rapid attention to injured extremities.

Along with the immense quantities of material, a large storage facility of equipment was also found, equipment that had not even been unpacked. Thus, today on Kupres many TO members are wearing ZNG uniforms made in Germany.

In addition to that material, mercenaries who came even from Belorussia (a certain Ptsik), Lithuania, Poland, Riga, and Libya (the swarthy pogimar) carried weapons made in Austria, Hungary, Romania, and the Far East (Singapore).

Along with the already familiar automatic weapons from Hungary (kalashnikovs), and then weapons from Romania, and small-caliber ammunition with horrifying wounding effect (the SAR 80 from Singapore), the most lethal weapon of the Croatian forces on Kupres against civilians and TO members, but also soldiers, is the Austrian "Stajer mannlicher," a 7.62-mm rifle with a telescopic site that is accurate up to 1,800 meters.

A sizable number of "mannlicher" rifles fell into the hands of the liberators. "Made in Austria" on this sharpshooter's rifle showed that the members of the Croatian Armed Forces were aided by foreign powers, above all by Austria and Germany, whose antiarmor missiles "armbrust" were also used on Kupres, managing to damage only one tank of the JNA. Now that we have mentioned tanks, at night the Croatian army brought on conventional trailer trucks from the direction of Suica to Kupres some 12 guns, eight tanks, and four self-propelled vehicles carrying a 90-mm cannon. In their aggression against the territory of B-H, the Croatian forces also brought T-55's and self-propelled guns, as well as personnel carriers with "malyutka" guided missiles; they obtained these guns in Croatia when the garrisons surrendered.

All the Croatian guns on Kupres were destroyed, and two tanks, one self-propelled gun, and one armored car were captured.

All the figures from the Kupres plateau indicate that it is no longer possible to get around the truth about the aggressor, which is irresistibly confirmed by all the documents on the dead, the captured, and also by the "specimens" on the battlefield.

[Box, p 7]

Croatian Automatic Rifle

Among the war booty in Bijeljina, there was also a new product from Croatia. This is the "Sokac-1" automatic rifle with a green foregrip, a stock that can be disassembled, with the words "Made in Croatia" written on it, accompanied, of course, by the crest of the Republic of Croatia.

Role, Tasks of Daily Discussed

92BA0823A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Apr 92 p 1

[Article by Dr. Aleksandar Prlja: "The True Place of POLITIKA"]

[Text] Nine decades after its establishment and half a century after it entered the one-party system of strict control of public speech, POLITIKA has now reached the threshold of a time which differs considerably and not exactly happily from almost everything remembered even by the older generations of readers. The times are such that it is no wonder that right now, as so many times in the past, it should be receiving so many arrows shot from the undemocratic subconsciousness of individuals or even public figures. These are individuals and groups who have never straightened out their position toward the problem of external control of the press. They have no liking for democratic and enlightened reflection on many important and delicate matters in these complicated times.

Regardless of that, however, the moment has come when even POLITIKA, as a national newspaper that has shared the destiny of Serbia as long as it has existed, is faced with at least two tasks and tests. One test and task is loyalty to the tradition of a freedom-loving Serbia that is devoted to democracy, with a firm sense of patriotism and dignity. This is a unique measure of its historical sense for good and evil, which it shares with the broadest strata of readers and the people. The best part of POLITIKA's patriotic tradition is bound up with this. It has always guided the newspaper along the road of truth and defense of threatened historical integrity.

The second test and task—confronted by a renewed and rejuvenated editorial staff of POLITIKA—is associated with further professional improvement, respect, and observance of the rules that apply in our columns: POLITIKA's true word has never been directed in advance against anyone or anything. Before it examines what is actually happening, POLITIKA cannot attack anyone, nor thoughtlessly defend anyone. In the flood of newspapers and publications, POLITIKA cannot evoke the lowest passions, war cries, or sinister nationalistic exclusiveness, nor does this suit its image and mission. Allegiance to democracy does not mean support of cacophony without meaning and social content. Habits acquired over many years, when the editors went somewhere outside to "arrive at their own opinion," are even now looking like an irrecoverable past in all of this.

In and of itself, that is encouraging, but this does not mean that now in the columns of POLITIKA all opinions and occurrences are equal, especially in the eyes of its younger generation, which is making its way as the older generations of journalists pay respect to continuity and realign themselves "on the run."

POLITIKA, like all newspapers, has its own traditional preferences, which we might say are natural. Its allegiance to democracy precludes, as we have said, any a priori commitment "against" anyone or "for" anyone. The openness of our columns, which has won us much recognition from readers, does not signify equal distance from what pulls society toward progress and social change and from what conceals the essence behind excited slogans like some kind of seductive siren from the Greek epics.

There is no progress without understanding the problems of a majority of the people, with its anxieties, troubles, and poverty. That has always been one of the lasting veins of POLITIKA's inspiration. There is no reason why it should be different in the future.

The fact that its orientation toward advanced Europe and the world is well-known and recognized by readers does not mean, of course, that POLITIKA, together with its readers and the entire people, can be ready to accept all the humiliating pressures and injustices. Our entire people rightly believes that in the end those injustices must be proven to have been transient. The lesson for newspapers in Serbia, which have very small circulation in spite of financial investments and other efforts, is very clear. There is not much room in Serbia for newspapers which directly and mechanically dissolve into a gigantic imitation of everything that comes from outside our borders. Borders have long since ceased to be barriers, or at least they ought not to be. The basic milieux, however, differ from community to community, from country to country. That is what POLITIKA readers feel and know, and POLITIKA remembers in all the generations of its journalists.

This is a moment of difficult trial for Serbia, for the entire Serbian people. The fabric of this people has been under the attack of undoubtedly democratic countries whose most important objective in this region appears to be to parcel out the Serbs in what until now has been a common state by means of interpretations which are formally democratic. However one looks at it, this is where serious reflections must lead.

That, of course, places a commitment on POLITIKA. Its readers are its most important corrective. We need no better barometer. Newspapers which become detached from the readership on which they have rested for so many decades cannot be secure even as to their own future. Warnings are arriving fast in these difficult days, most rapidly from the market itself.

The rejuvenated generation of POLITIKA journalists, deeply devoted to democracy, to openness, but also to maintaining ties with a public that has an infallible judgment and historical instinct, can at this moment turn toward the performance of its complicated role. Heroes are best recognized in times of trouble, and broadening the space of democracy, we are convinced, also opens wide the door to the necessary social transformations and improvements. These improvements, in our opinion, are not to come from haphazard liberalism and an uncontrolled process of sellout, anarchy, and violence.

Mature reflection finds that the greatest pledge of POLITIKA and POLITIKA's future is continuity. If there is a good teacher of life, then, taken as a whole, it is POLITIKA's history, its words, and the names of its founders on its masthead. We never change those names. From time to time, we only change those who sign their names on the newspaper's last page. The ease with which this takes place from time to time peacefully and democratically is in and of itself an illustration of POLITIKA's devotion to democracy. It is also an illustration of its readiness to offer concerted resistance to the temptations of a false democracy and a false internationalism—which have frequently been defended by contradictory slogans and currents.

Electric Power System Remains Despite Secessions

92BA0818B Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Apr 92 p 8

[Article by J. Putnikovic: "Interest Above All"]

[Text] Even without Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav Electric Power System will continue to function in the future. It is true that back on 15 January Slovenia and Croatia left the Community of the Yugoslav Electric Power Industry [JUGEL], but higher interests, by all appearances, will nevertheless keep the disassociated electric power industries together.

This is evident in the example of Slovenia and Serbia. Because of the break of the long-distance transmission line at Ernestinovo, since last September the Serbian Electric Power Industry has been unable to supply power to UNIJAL in Slovenia. A contract with Hungary, however, sent power along Hungarian long-distance transmission lines until 29 March—1.2 million kilowatt-hours a day. But now, because of regular repair to the electric power system in that neighboring country, UNIJAL is again not receiving power from Serbia.

The deliveries are supposed to begin again "as soon as the situation allows," says Milojko Nesovanovic, chief load dispatcher in JUGEL, emphasizing at the same time that the Hungarians are ready to help in this arrangement. In any case, on the basis of contracts signed earlier, Serbia owes Slovenia 150 kilowatt-hours of electric power—so that both are very much interested in reestablishment of the unified electric power system on the territory of what used to be Yugoslavia. Especially because Slovenia is ready to pay Serbia for the power by purchasing foreign spare parts for power plants that belong to the Serbian Electric Power Industry.

In any case, Slovenia and Croatia have zealously paid all their debts to JUGEL and in a meeting of representatives of the electric power industries of Slovenia, Croatia, and Serbia with the top management of JUGEL in Vienna,

they declared that they are not giving up financing of the unified technical control system. This refers to the headquarters in Belgrade from which all power plants on the territory of Yugoslavia will be controlled.

The technical control system is supposed to be completed by 1995. But the unity of the system will have to be regulated by incorporating certain standards in formal law, and at JUGEL they say that the operation of the center itself would be achieved without experts from Slovenia and Croatia.

With the departure of those two republics, JUGEL itself is left without a third of the revenues to finance operation of the Community. Nevertheless, it will continue to collect the fee for transit—1.5 percent of the value of electric power for every 100 km of travel.

Now, however, the operation of the unified electric power system on the territory of (former) Yugoslavia requires repairing all the severed long-distance transmission lines. There was an agreement in Vienna that each party would repair its own damaged lines and installations for transmission of power on its respective territory. Croatia has also been offered aid in personnel and material, but its representatives have refused this, arguing that this would "violate the sovereignty of Croatia"—and so consent of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs would have to be obtained for the possible visit of "foreign" specialists.